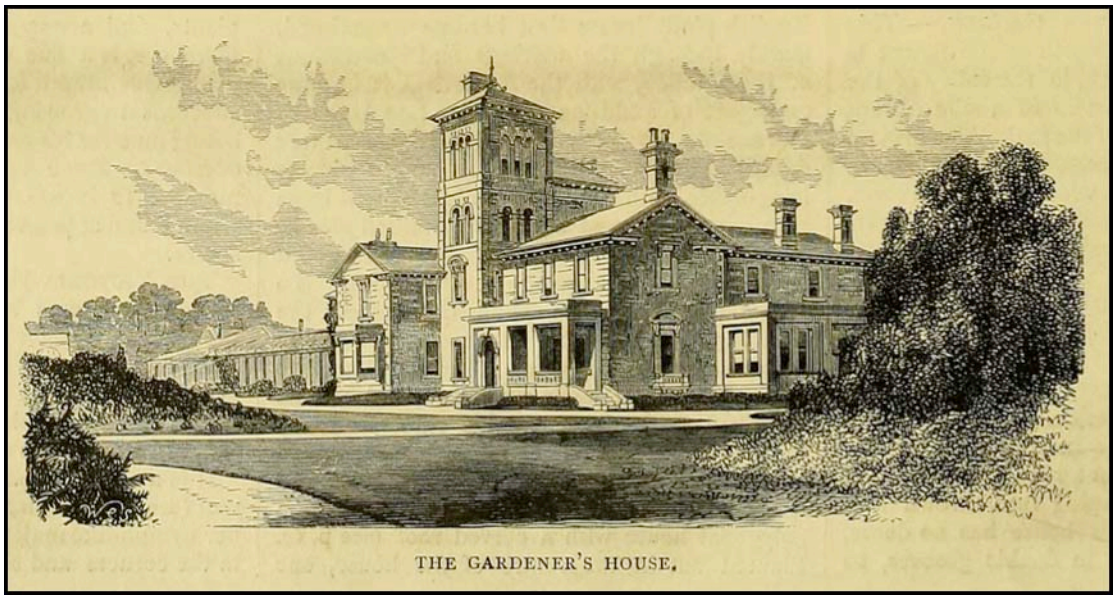
As the Houses, So the People

Gardeners: Their Accommodation and Remuneration 1800-1914

Volume 1 (of 2)



THE GARDENER'S HOUSE.

Jonathan Denby

Dissertation submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Garden History to the School of Humanities in the University of Buckingham

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Abstract
As the Houses, So the People
Gardeners: Their Accommodation and Remuneration 1800-1914

Jonathan Denby

This dissertation challenges the widely held belief that gardeners in the Regency, Victorian and Edwardian periods were down-trodden and badly paid. It examines the quality of the accommodation provided to gardeners of all ranks, noting the improvements which were made during the nineteenth century to the quality of the accommodation. The pivotal contribution to that improvement made by John Claudius Loudon, through his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* and his architectural and gardening journals, and of architects such as John Robertson, is highlighted. Case studies are made of the houses provided for gardeners on several estates, including Chatsworth (where Joseph Paxton's ambassadorial residence with its own lodge is considered), Redleaf, Clouds and Henham Hall. At Clouds a comparison is made between the accommodation provided for the head gardener and that of the indoor domestic servants, showing the superiority of the head gardener's. At Henham Hall the trend for head gardeners to be given houses in their own grounds is illustrated. There is separate consideration of the housing provided for under-gardeners, for which a case study of the model village of Edensor is made.

The bothy accommodation provided for under-gardeners is considered separately, showing the progression from the damp back-sheds which were the norm at the beginning of the period, to the purpose built housing, some with a billiards hall, which began to be built after 1860.

As regards gardeners' remuneration the level of wages paid to head gardeners, foremen, journeymen, apprentices and gardening labourers is considered in turn, and the changes which took place over the period. The analysis includes consideration of working hours, holiday periods and overtime. The detailed income and expenditure analysis made by Joseph Allen in 1842 shows that under-gardeners sometimes lived lives of quiet desperation. A contrast is made with the incomes of head gardeners, through an analysis of the benefits which they received in addition to their wage. A monetary value is given to the benefits in kind which came with the gardener's house, including the rental value of the house and the value of benefits such as a garden, a pig and a cow. The opportunities which were available to head gardeners to enhance their income through a variety of means, such as taking a percentage from suppliers, receiving a premium from apprentices and journeymen, the winning of prize money and profiting from the sale of garden produce is considered. The court case of Williams v. Leslie, is discussed to highlight how some head gardeners could make large profits by unscrupulous methods.

The role of David Fish, who campaigned for a "just wage" using principles set out by John Ruskin, is considered, together with the reasons why his campaign failed.

An analysis is made of probate records, which shows that some head gardeners left very substantial sums, proving that, as well as benefitting from being provided with excellent accommodation, they were able to profit substantially from their positions. The dissertation is supported by a directory of 381 gardeners' houses, cottages and bothies, with illustrations.

AS THE HOUSES, SO THE PEOPLE

GARDENERS: THEIR ACCOMMODATION AND REMUNERATION 1800-1914[1]

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I wish to thank the following:

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that my thesis/dissertation entitled "As the Houses, So the People: Gardeners: Their Accommodation and Remuneration 1800-1914" is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text, and is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Buckingham or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or is concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma, or other qualification at the University of Buckingham or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

Signature: Date:

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

> If you would ascertain whether a country is rich, prosperous and happy go not into the mansions of the wealthy but examine the cottages of the labourers.[2]
> Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)

In his book *The Head Gardeners* Dr Musgrave observed that gardeners were notoriously badly paid.[3] His words reflected the consensus and he reinforced it by citing several examples of the poor wages which downtrodden head gardeners received. Indeed the gardening journals of the nineteenth century are full of the plaintive cries of gardeners complaining about their wages. But the wage itself told only part of the story. It was the almost invariable practice of employers to provide head gardeners with a house, free of charge, and together with the house came a number of benefits in kind. Gardeners also had opportunities to enhance their incomes through a number of means; some above board, such as the taking of premiums from apprentices and the receipt of gratuities from visitors to their garden; some dubious, but "winked at" by their employers, such as the acceptance of a cash "percentage" on the purchase of goods from nurseries; some dishonest, such as the sale of produce or plants from the garden for their own profit. The value of the gardeners' benefits in kind and additional income could equal, or in some cases be several times more than, the value of the monetary wage which they received. Moreover the wage received by a gardener could sometimes be generous, and the level of wages varied considerably, dependant on the age and experience of the gardener, his marital status, the stage he had reached on the career ladder, the type of garden he worked in, and the state of the labour market at the time he was employed.

A different perspective on the status of the head gardener is given in reflections on the life of Harry Thrower (1882-1939) who was the head gardener of the Horwood estate in Buckinghamshire in the Edwardian period:

> One must remember that a head gardener of a large estate in those days was almost like the Lord of the Manor. He was looked up to in the locality and feared by most of his staff.[4]

This dissertation will examine these different perspectives in the context of the type and quality of the accommodation provided to gardeners, the benefits

which came with the accommodation, the scale of gardeners' remuneration and the additional income which they earned by way of perquisites and otherwise. Particular focus will be placed on the contribution made by John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) and others in their endeavours to improve the quality of gardeners' accommodation, and of David Fish (1824-1901) and others to enhance gardeners' remuneration.

THE CATEGORIES OF GARDENERS AND GARDENS

There were five broad categories of gardeners employed in private gardens; the labourer; the apprentice; the journeyman; the foreman; and the head gardener. Each category had their own scale of pay, and type of accommodation, and each will be considered in turn. Those below the head gardener were known in the generality as under-gardeners.

The different categories of private gardens in which gardeners might gain employment were described in the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, published in 1822 by Loudon. The most modest category was the "suburban or citizen's villa", with land of between one and ten acres.[5] The head gardener there would be expected to look after a kitchen garden, plus the shrubbery and lawn without any other qualified help, but sometimes, as the seasons dictated, unqualified labour. This was sometimes known as a third rate or third class garden and was known colloquially as a "small place". The second category was the "villa" with between ten and one hundred acres, where the head gardener would be assisted by one or more journeymen and probably an apprentice, with the occasional help of male or female labourers. In this kind of establishment there would be a substantial kitchen garden with hothouses.[6] This was also known as a second rate or second class garden. Thirdly there was the "mansion and demesne", with between 100 and 1,000 acres, where, as well as the garden, there would be a park, woodland and a farm.[7] This was also known as a first rate or first class garden, and was known colloquially as a "good place". Here, the head gardener would have two foremen in the kitchen garden (one for the hothouses, one for the outdoor work) and separate foremen in charge of the park and the flower

garden. The woods would be looked after by a forester, who was in the charge of the head gardener, and the farm would be in the separate charge of a farm bailiff. Sometimes, however, the head gardener also took on the duties of the farm bailiff. The pay, benefits, accommodation and most importantly, the ability of the gardener to earn additional remuneration, depended upon which category of garden the gardener worked in, with wide variations within each type.

There were three classes of accommodation; the houses for the head gardeners; the bothies for the young and unmarried; and the cottages and lodgings for the remainder of the garden staff, each of which will be considered in turn.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

In addition to the usual sources, reliance has been placed on the gardening journals of the period. They were described by Dr Brent Elliott as the most useful source of information on gardening matters from the second quarter of the nineteenth century, but they are of particular relevance to the subjects of gardeners' accommodation and their remuneration because they acted as a forum of discussion among gardeners.[8] The gardening magazines were the places where gardeners exchanged information, aired grievances and made proposals for change. The first, and most important, of the journals was the *Gardener's Magazine*, founded by Loudon in 1823. Loudon's aim was to educate, inform and bring about change. He encouraged discussion and debate, which was carried on through his "Retrospective Criticism" column. The *Gardener's Magazine* ceased publication upon Loudon's death in 1843 but the same policy of debate and discussion was continued by the magazines which followed. The most important of these was the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, which was co-founded by Loudon's great rival and ultimately close friend, Joseph Paxton, who shared Loudon's zeal for progress and reform. Loudon had said that all he strove for were "free trade, parliamentary reform and a national system of education";[9] Paxton had similar ideals and when he stood for Parliament was described as an "extreme Liberal".[10] Others of Loudon's friends and colleagues on his *Gardener's Magazine* continued to write for gardening journals, in particular Noel Humphreys (1810-1879), Robert Fish (1793-1873) and his brother David Fish

who wrote for the *Cottage Gardener* as well as the *Gardeners' Chronicle*. Later in the century, Shirley Hibberd (1825-1890), the editor of a revived *Gardener's Magazine* and William Robinson (1838-1935) at *The Garden* and *Gardening Illustrated* continued the policy of encouraging open and sometimes controversial debate. These journals are rich sources of information on all aspects of gardeners' accommodation and remuneration.

In the Edwardian period a less disputatious, but still very valuable source has been the little known journal *Garden Life* which, in a series of several hundred articles by Alfred Wilcox, gave detailed descriptions, sometimes extending to four thousand words, of many of the leading gardens of the day, revealing the extent of the gardening operations there and, in many cases giving descriptions and, most importantly, photographs, of the head gardeners' houses.

Another particularly useful source has been the court reports of the period. The subject of pay is a private one, and it is notable that in the many hundreds of advertisements in the "positions wanted" columns of the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, very few mention a wage. Similarly, the many ways which gardeners found to enhance their income were often "under the counter" or illegal and were unlikely to be recorded. Sometimes, the only time they became public was when there was a dispute, and they reached a court of law. The reports of the court proceeding are additionally useful in that the evidence is given under oath and in the British adversarial system is subject to rigorous examination. The case of Williams v. Leslie (page 119), which was a dispute between the owner of an estate and a nursery exposed a series of bad practices on the part of a dishonest head gardener, which would not have become public knowledge without the publicity of an open court, but which, it transpired, were rife in the gardening world. A case brought against the Duke of Marlborough, the owner of Blenheim Palace, revealed that a gardener's contract of employment might not be all it seems. When the Duke was summoned for non-payment of the servant tax, it was revealed that although the head gardener was paid £260 a year, which would have been generous remuneration, his salary was in fact only £60 a year, with the balance being reserved to pay garden labourers. The Duke had hoped that by hiding these wage payments within the head gardener's salary he would

escape liability for the tax. The court case revealed all, not least that the estate accounts could not be taken at face value.

Two important sources of information from official records are the census returns and the probate records. The census returns establish precisely where a gardener lived on the relevant date, which is particularly useful on a large estate where many gardeners were employed. The probate records disclose the assets of a gardener on his death, if not how he came to accumulate those assets.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE GARDENER

The gardener was an "outdoor" servant, as opposed to an "indoor" servant such as the butler, footman and housekeeper, who worked and lived in the main house, and who were also known as "domestic" or "menial" servants. However, gardeners, even though they did not usually live in the main house were also classed as "domestic" or "menial" servants. This had important consequences in regard to their remuneration. The legal status of a domestic servant gave gardeners better legal rights than common labourers, as servants were entitled, in the event of dismissal, to a fixed period of notice, or pay in lieu of notice, and also to receive payment when ill,[11] protection which was not given, as of right, to labourers. But their classification as a domestic servant put head gardeners at a disadvantage in comparison with a "servant in husbandry", such as a farm bailiff, who would in normal circumstances be entitled to a year's notice (or pay in lieu), as opposed to the one-month's notice of a domestic servant.

The law was tested in the case of Nowlan v. Ablett in 1833.[12] Nowlan was a gardener working in the royal gardens in Kew when he was approached by Mr Ablett with the proposal that he might become the head gardener on his estate in Denbighshire.[13] According to the court record Ablett asked, "What wages am I to pay you?" to which Nowlan replied: "I shall not come from Kew without a hundred pounds". A bargain was struck on that basis with nothing being said about notice.[14] Nowlan was provided with a house in the grounds, rent free, and he was given the right to take on two apprentices at a premium of £15 a year, as a supplement to his wages.[15] Four years later Nowlan was given a month's

notice, but he argued that as he was a servant in husbandry, and paid by the year, and as he had not been guilty of any misconduct, he was entitled to a year's pay in lieu of notice. The case went before a jury, and he won. Unfortunately for Nowlan, the case was taken to a higher court, where three appeal judges decided that a gardener, even if living off the premises, and paid a yearly salary, was a domestic servant, and that like them, was subject to a month's notice.[16] This case established that outdoor servants had an identical legal status to indoor servants,[17] with the anomaly that if a head gardener was also appointed as the farm bailiff, he would then enjoy the status of a "servant in husbandry".

After the case of Nowlan v. Ablett, gardeners found themselves fighting a rearguard action to maintain their position as domestic servants rather than labourers. The case of Copas v. Wiltshire is significant in that it illustrates the approach taken to the payment of wages during illness, as well as the right of a gardener to a month's notice. Joseph Copas was employed by Lady Wiltshire as head gardener at Woolley Hall, in Berkshire. After falling ill with what was diagnosed as consumption he was unable to work, but continued to receive his wages. When it seemed that the illness would be permanent Lady Wiltshire terminated his contract and paid him a week's wages. The court decided that "according to the custom of the country" he was a monthly servant and entitled to a month's notice.[18]

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

The period between 1800 and 1914 was characterized by substantial population growth, generally rising prosperity and steady or falling prices. The real gross domestic product of the economy rose from £237 million to £2,191 million.[19] More importantly, the real gross domestic product per head rose from £14 to £48 (see Appendix I). This naturally had an effect on average real earnings which for the general population rose from £23.58 to £80 per annum.[20] Unlike in the century which followed, inflation was not an expected part of everyday life; in fact prices generally were either steady or they tended to fall.[21] The effect of this was that even in periods when wages did not rise the purchasing power of

those wages increased. The extent, if any, to which gardeners benefitted from this general increase in prosperity will be discussed in Chapter 3.

It is impossible to make an accurate calculation of the contribution of gardening to the national prosperity, but it was undoubtedly significant. In terms of employment, there are no statistics for the early part of the nineteenth century, but figures garnered from the census returns from 1851 onwards show that the numbers employed as "domestic gardeners" were very significant, rising to almost 130,000 in 1911 (See chart at Appendix II).[22] The actual figure was almost certainly larger than that shown in the census returns, as the census would not have identified casual garden labourers including the many women employed on a temporary basis in gardens. In first rate gardens the gardeners would make up a substantial proportion of the total staff. At Shrubland Park in Suffolk in the mid-nineteenth century there were 173 staff of whom there were 17 indoor servants, 40 gardeners and 40 labourers.[23] The sums spent on gardening operations, if not necessarily on the wages of gardeners, were huge. As Professor Floud has noted, gardens were "early examples of what Veblen was later to call 'conspicuous consumption'".[24] Garden owners competed with each other for the most extravagant displays of spring, summer and autumn bedding, to have the earliest asparagus and the most magnificent winter garden. With the aid of artificial heat, the boast arose that "[there] is no Fruit, no Culinary Vegetable, no Flower or Ornamental Plant, whether exotic or indigenous that cannot be obtained in its most desired state at any time of year".[25]

Ernest Field, in "Garden Memories at Hatton" quipped: "I once heard it said that rich people used to show their wealth by the size of their bedding plant list: 10,000 plants for a squire; 20,000 for a baronet; 30,000 for an earl and 50,000 for a duke" He was pleased to recall that in 1903, his employer, Alfred de Rothschild had 40,418 plants, which "put him well above an earl". But the numbers could be much higher than this. In 1856, the head gardener at Shrubland Park, Robert Foggo told Donald Beaton that he used 100,000 plants in the garden's floral displays.[26] Fifty years later the head gardener at Ramsey Abbey, F. W. Seabrook calculated that he used well over 100,000 plants for the summer bedding alone in his garden's fifty floral beds.[27] In the words of F. W.

Burbidge, writing in 1903; "Many gardens are kept up just as horse and hounds, or yachts and motor-cars, and other luxuries are kept up, viz. for personal rather than for economic reasons".[28]

Kitchen gardens were designed to consist entirely of ranges of glass-houses, without any bare earth as at Frogmore (Fig. 1). The cost of building the glasshouses was considerable. In the years between 1836 and 1840 glasshouses at Chatsworth cost £5,704,[29] not including the Great Conservatory, (Fig. 2) which cost £33,099.[30] Before 1838 the total cost of maintaining the gardens at Chatsworth was £5,000 a year and from the 1840's it had risen to £10,000 a year.[31] It has been estimated that there were 5,000 parkland estates in England alone, so that there would have been at least 7,000 in the entire kingdom, most of which consumed conspicuously on their gardens, if not as lavishly as at Chatsworth.[32] Beyond the parkland estates there were tens of thousands of smaller gardens following a similar trend on a smaller scale.

In1881, Shirley Hibberd (1825-1890) the editor of *Gardener's Magazine*, was able to write, confidently:

> Some of the older folks who were observant in their younger days will readily call to mind that half a century ago the condition of the labouring classes of this country was deplorable; while, as regards respect for law and order, England was nearly in as bad a plight as Ireland is at this moment. The Reform Bill of 1832 and the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 were two of the most important agencies in changing the face of society from its sullen and starved expression in 1831 to its cheerful and well-fed appearance in 1881. In that same period the Press has become a popular institution; steam, gas and electricity have immensely increased man's power to wrest from nature all that he requires for sustenance and delight, and the masses of the people participate more fully and freely in the products of civilisation than in any former time in the history of the world.[33]

Shirley Hibberd's optimism came just before a severe and prolonged agricultural depression, which adversely affected the ability of some landed proprietors to develop their gardens. But many were sharing in the prosperity of non-agricultural activities: Paxton's Great Conservatory at Chatsworth was paid for by revenues from coal; the gardens at Trentham from investments in canal transport.[34] In any event new money more than made up for the decline in the

landed aristocracy. Up to 2,000 new country houses were built between 1835 and 1914.[35] In the first two decades of that period more than half of new houses were built by peers or squires. In the final two decades that proportion had fallen to 8%, their place being taken by manufacturers, bankers, grocers, brewers and professional men, most notably solicitors.[36] The same groups of men were also buying up the estates of the peers and squires whose finances were constrained.

This democratisation was welcomed by people like Loudon who believed that was in the interests of professional gardeners. Loudon wrote:

> The pay given to their head gardeners by the men who are themselves in business is as great as, in many instances greater than, that given by noblemen. A situation under a rich tradesman, merchant, or small landed proprietor is productive of far more comfort than one under a nobleman; where so many intermediate persons come between him and his employer.[37]



Fig. 1. The kitchen garden at Frogmore.[38]



Fig. 2. The Great Conservatory at Chatsworth.[39]

THE COBHAM PARK ESTATE

The Cobham Park estate in Surrey provides an apt illustration of this trend. The estate had bought in 1806 by Harvey Christian Combe (1752-1818), a brewer who had become the Lord Mayor of London. Cobham Park was on the opposite side of the valley from Painshill, whose renowned garden Loudon said would "repay a journey from any part of the island".[40] On Harvey Combe's death in 1818 the estate was inherited by his son, also called Harvey (1784-1858,) who, between 1823 and 1845 pursued a policy of purchasing neighbouring estates as they became available.[41] On part of this land he built a model kitchen garden with a large range of hot-houses and a gardener's house (page 32 of volume 2). This policy was continued by his successor, Charles Combe (1836-1920).[42] In 1900, following the death of his wife, Charles Combe began a relationship with Mrs Alice Cushney, the wife of Alexander Cushney, who owned Painshill.[43] After Alexander Cushney's death in 1903, his widow became the second Mrs Combe. Mrs Cushney had made it a condition of the marriage that Charles Combe should buy the Painshill estate from her late husband's executors. This he did, and the pair moved to Painshill.[44] In the meantime, in 1905, the gardens at Cobham Park were given an extensive and favourable review by the *Gardeners' Chronicle*.[45] Thus, in the space of a century and three generations, a newly rich brewing family had acquired the land and estates of former squires and in the process had created a new garden of renown and ensured the long-term survival of another.

THE CLOSE LINK BETWEEN GARDENING AND AGRICULTURE

Cobham Park was a typical "Mansion and demesne" as defined by Loudon. In 1851 the estate occupied 800 acres, which included the gardens, a home farm and tenanted farms. In the census of that year twelve domestic servants lived in the house and two gardeners were listed, together with thirty labourers. It is clear that many more than two gardeners will have been required to look after the extensive gardens and kitchen gardens, so that a number of the garden workers must have been categorised as "labourers". Some of these will have

worked exclusively in the gardens and some will have worked, at various times of year between the garden, the park, the woodland and the farm, as required. This illustrates the close link which existed between gardening and agriculture. When the *Gardeners' Chronicle* was established in 1842 it routinely carried articles on agricultural matters until, in 1845, the editors decided to separate out the agricultural side into its own section, and to change the name of the magazine to the *Gardeners' Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette*. The two papers were published under the same cover until 1873 when the split was announced with the words:

> The bond between Gardening and Agriculture is too intimate to be wholly severed; such a course would be unnatural. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* will still treat of agricultural subjects in general without entering into the details required of the professional farmer.[46]

Meanwhile, in 1861 the *Journal of Horticulture* had become became the *Journal of Horticulture and Home Farmer*. The close symbiosis between gardening and agriculture had important consequences for both the employment and accommodation of gardeners. It was commonplace for a head gardener to be given the duties of farm bailiff (but rarely the other way round). Sometimes a head gardener would be promoted to take on the role of land agent as well as farm bailiff, which meant that he had to deal with all the tenants, and their leases. In 1832 Loudon wrote:

> The changes which are taking place in society and the desire of the employers of gardeners to economise is gradually leading to the union in the same person of the offices of gardener, bailiff and even land steward. We know of various instances both in England and Scotland in which this union has taken place and we rejoice to see it… because we have long been aware of the injury which the agriculture and the farmers of this country have sustained from the employment as land stewards of attorneys who, residing in towns, frequently know nothing of rural affairs.[47]

These were not simply circumstances forced upon landowners during the depressed times of the early 1830s. In 1859 "Equity" observed in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* that he knew of no fewer than five instances within a four mile radius where the role of head gardener and land steward were combined, a fact which did not surprise him, as it saved the estate owner £150 a year.[48] In 1861 William

Robinson wrote: "The combined management of the farm and garden can be conducted efficiently by the gardener. Most of the places in Ireland (nearly all the smaller ones) are so managed".[49] The estate owner would, where possible, endeavour to provide accommodation for his workers, whether they worked on the farm or in the garden. Some of these workers would be labourers, able to work in either capacity. It was in the interests of the employer to provide them with accommodation, as otherwise they might have a long journey to work, by foot, which would affect their productivity. No distinction was made in terms of the quality of accommodation between the farm workers and the gardeners; they would occupy whatever cottages were available for them on the estate. The exceptions were the head gardener, who would normally have his own house or cottage in, or close to, the kitchen garden, and the young unmarried gardeners who would share quarters in a bothy. Typically, if an estate employed a garden staff of 20, about a quarter would live in the bothy, the rest in cottages on the estate.[50] Thus the examination of accommodation for gardeners on the larger estates will include the estate cottages, as well as the bothy and head gardener's house.

PRICES AND THEIR MODERN EQUIVALENCE

Column B of the chart at Appendix I shows how prices have changed in each year between 1800 and 1914 compared with 2012. This is simply an adjustment for inflation, showing that £50 in 1815 would be worth £3,750 today and £50 in 1875 would be worth £4,900 today. This method of comparison is flawed primarily because it is based on a basket of goods which, in the nineteenth century was heavily biased towards foodstuffs, especially bread, which may not be relevant when considering the cost of building a house, or of employing a gardener. A simple cottage in 1871 could be built for £100, which with a multiple of 100 at that date gives a modern equivalent of £10,000 which is too low, by a factor of as much as ten. The wage of a head gardener of £100 a year in 1871 equates to an annual wage of £10,000 now, which again is unrealistically low, although by a lower factor. Another method of comparison is with average

earnings. On the 200th anniversary of the publication of *Pride and Prejudice* in January 2013, the advance which Jane Austen received from Thomas Egerton of £110 was equated with £5,900 today, using the retail price index, and it was pointed out that a comparison with average earnings would have produced a figure of £72,000, which was "right on the money for a piece of commercial genre fiction".[51] A comparison with average earnings (the earnings index, or EI) gives a more realistic equivalence than the RPI for building costs, but overstates wage costs, compared with the cost of employing a gardener today by a factor of between two and four. These comparisons are important, particularly when assessing the amounts which gardeners left in their wills. Thus the £1,850 which George Ford of Wrest Park left in 1905 would be worth £190,350 today with reference to the retail price index and £638,370 with reference to the increase in earnings (page 133).[52]

CHAPTER II. GARDENERS' ACCOMMODATION

> I am tired of that cuckoo cry "My dear fellow, cottages never pay: do you expect us to throw money away?" Does the attic of the housemaid pay, the bed-room of the butler or the footman pay? Does the lodge of the keeper pay? The conservatory, the peach-houses, the stables etc., do these bricks and mortar creations pay rent, return cash, in return for cash expended on their erection?" My Dear Lord or squire, you can't have your Mary Duster, Mr Coolwine, James and that six-foot- two civil 'Dick Partridge' unless you house them, brick and glaze and chimney-pot them.
> "SGO", *The Times*[53]

The quality of the housing provided for the gardening and other staff depended on the policy and benevolence of the garden owner. In the early part of the nineteenth century serious criticisms were being made of the quality of the accommodation provided. In 1831 "Selim" wrote in the *Gardener's Magazine*:

> Many of the cottages are little better than the farmer's stables; they frequently contain only a sitting-room and loft: in the latter of which all the members of the family sleep, old and young, married and single, sick and whole and, as I have seen in many instances, the living and the dead. The lower apartment is very frequently a damp, cold, wretched hole without a single convenience; often with a mud floor, which is always damp.[54]

In 1837 John Britton, in his introduction to his description of the cottages built by the Earl of Essex in Cassiobury Park for the estate workers there, including the gardeners, said that they were to be contrasted with the:

> [Ragged] wretched sheds and hovels which are too often seen by the road-side, and even in connection with some of the large and ancient parks in our island.[55]

These criticisms extended even to the accommodation provided for the head gardener. Loudon wrote of the "often damp houses or sheds which gardeners, both journeymen and masters, now too frequently occupy".[56] Charles McIntosh (1794-1864) wrote in 1853;

> We often find, even in gardens of high pretensions, and where great expense has been gone to in minor details, the accommodation afforded the head gardener inferior to that which ought to be provided for his assistants; while the latter are lodged in damp and ill-ventilated dens, in general forming part of the back sheds and wholly unfit for human habitation.[57]

JOHN CLAUDIUS LOUDON

> Will you show me your plan?
>
> Yes, certainly. I dare say it is very faulty. But I have been examining all the plans for cottages in Loudon's book, and picked out what seem the best things. Oh what a happiness it would be to set the pattern about here! I think instead of Lazarus at the gate, we should put the pigsty cottages outside the park-gate.
>
> Dorothea was in the best temper now. Sir James, as brother in-law, building model cottages on his estate, and then, perhaps, others being built at Lowick, and more and more elsewhere in imitation - it would be as if the spirit of Oberlin had passed over the parishes to make the life of poverty beautiful!
> George Eliot - *Middlemarch*[58]

When George Eliot name-checked Loudon in *Middlemarch* she was confident that her readers would recognise the name, just as Jane Austen had been when she had mentioned Repton in *Mansfield Park*.[59] But there was a significant difference, in that Mansfield Park was published during Repton's lifetime, whereas Loudon had been dead for a generation when *Middlemarch* was written

in 1875. The book to which Dorothea referred was Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Cottage, Farm and Villa Architecture and Furniture*[60] which was first published in 1833 and achieved at least fourteen editions or impressions over forty years, with two major editorial revisions and several minor ones.[61] Loudon averred that he wished to "diffuse among general readers a taste for architectural beauties and comforts, and to improve the dwellings of the great mass of society in all countries". That he may to an extent have succeeded can be seen from the commendation in the *Times* in 1859 which said "no single work has ever effected so much good in improving the arrangement and the external appearance of country dwellings generally".[62] John Gloag, in 1979, wrote that: "his Encyclopaedia became the principal copybook for builders all over the country for at least fifty years after his death".[63] More recently, John Archer described it as "one of the most comprehensive and popular architectural books of the entire nineteenth century".[64] But Dorothea was not an architect; she was merely someone who wanted to get some cottages built. This was the key to Loudon's success; he transformed the way pattern books were written, making them accessible and readable by the layman as well as the professional.

It is also significant that Dorothea was female. The professional world of architects, land agents and surveyors may have been male, but Loudon recognised the truth that women were often the decision makers. When Loudon had been critical about the state of the gardener's house at Bagshot Park (page 36) he directed his subsequent flattery not to the Duke (of Gloucester) but to the Duchess, who, he said, he firmly believed to be:

> [An] amiable woman…[the] defect we have complained of, we are persuaded, proceeds entirely from want of a little reflection on the part of her upper managers, and by no means from a want of humanity.[65]

Women exercised great influence in the management and control of gardens. Louisa Lawrence (1803-55) was the wife of an eminent surgeon, William Lawrence[66] (1783-1867) but when Loudon gave an extensive and highly favourable review of their garden at Drayton Green, all the accolades were hers.[67] When she exhibited, she did so in her own name, and she became one of the leading prize-winners at the Horticultural Society's shows.[68] Many of the

great gardens of the nineteenth century, such as Lady Middleton's Shrubland Park and Lady Rokeby's Hazelwood Hall were under the direct control of women.[69] In others the wife would look after the garden just as she looked after the household. When Philip Webb (1831-1915) accepted the contract to design Clouds (page 71) he accepted instructions relating to the construction of the house from Percy Wyndham (1835-1911), and those relating to the garden from his wife Madeline, even though all formal contracts had, by convention, to be made with the husband.

Loudon had arrived in London in 1803, aged twenty, after serving apprenticeships in garden nurseries in Edinburgh and later becoming a foreman in charge of hothouses.[70] His early career was variously as a landscape designer, architect, civil engineer and farmer, during which he made and lost a fortune[71], and after which he became a full-time writer and publisher on two principal subjects, horticulture and architecture.[72] He wrote the *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* in 1822, he started the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1826 and the *Architectural Magazine* in 1834. These two subjects overlapped on an issue about which he cared deeply: the provision of accommodation for gardeners of all levels. Loudon decided at an early stage to concentrate on gardeners' living conditions rather than try to improve their wages. This was for two reasons. First, he did not believe, unlike most of his contemporaries, that gardeners were always poorly paid. In the very first edition of the *Gardener's Magazine* he wrote:

> It is a common complaint among gardeners that they are not sufficiently paid. But the remark does not apply to gardeners who have either received a tolerable scholastic education or have made up for the defect afterwards by self-improvement.[73]

Secondly, he believed that even if gardeners deserved to be paid more, there was little he could do, because their wages were subject to the laws of supply and demand. He was a firm believer in the theories of the Scottish economist Adam Smith, to the extent that he recommended that Smith's two great works, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *The Wealth of Nations* should be in every head gardener's library.[74] Loudon believed in Smith's theory that the level of wages was determined by market forces. As, during Loudon's lifetime, the demand for good gardening positions always greatly exceeded the supply, there was no

pressure for wages to rise. When, soon after he began the *Gardener's Magazine*, Loudon published articles suggesting that gardeners deserved higher wages he received a reply from an estate owner protesting that he should not have to pay his gardener more when "the lawyer and the physician receive the same fees now which their ancestors did in the last four reigns of our kings".[75] Loudon found that argument unanswerable, and from then on concentrated on striving for improvements in their living conditions rather than their remuneration. He wrote:

> Whenever we have been consulted as to the wages of gardeners, our advice has always been to increase their comforts by additions in kind, rather than by additions in money; to give a more commodious home to live in, a proper office for seeds etc., and a good library; fuel; lights, a cow, pigs, poultry, flour or meal, potatoes and to pay for he education of one or two children.[76]

Loudon had very definite views about what the "more commodious home" should be. In his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* he describes what he calls the "beau ideal" of the house in which every married couple, having children of both sexes, should live in. "In such dwellings every labourer ought to live and any nobleman might live".[77] He specified certain basic requirements. First, the ground floor should be raised two or three feet above the surrounding earth to prevent dampness or alternatively have a basement. Secondly, the chimneys should be placed on interior rather than exterior walls, for the better retention of heat. Thirdly, there should be an efficient system of collecting, filtering and storing rainwater, and likewise for "the liquid and other manure produced in and about the cottage".[78]

A plan of the most basic of Loudon's "beau ideal" cottages is given at Fig. 5. It is single-storey, with a living room, kitchen and parlour and three bedrooms, one for the parents, and one each for the male and female children. The basic shape of the house (Fig. 3) is square "as containing the greatest accommodation with the least amount of walling, and as best calculated for accumulating and retaining heat".[79] There is a water-closet for the mother and girls inside the house, and a separate WC for the father and boys in the yard. Outside, there is a cow-house, a pigsty, an area for ducks, geese and poultry, and shelves for bee-

hives. The inevitable presence of a cow, pigs and poultry is significant when gardeners' benefits in kind are considered. The building may be constructed of brick, stone or earth (preferably not the last-named) with a roof of tile, slate or thatch. The specification includes an ingenious mode of under-floor heating. As regards aspect, Loudon recommends that the front door of the cottage should ideally face the south-east, "so that the four sides of the walls and roof would receive the sun's rays every day of the year".[80] In respect of the out-houses, the dairy and pantry should face to the north-west.[81]

Loudon's designs for his model cottages differed radically from those of his predecessors in that he placed the emphasis on the internal arrangements rather than the external appearance of the building. In 1827 T. F. Hunt (1841-1898) had published *Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture*, which contained designs for labourers including gardeners.[82] It was a pattern book presented in the standard format, with drawings of the exterior of the buildings and ground plans, but very little additional detail. Loudon praised the "elegant design" of Hunt's gardener's cottage (Fig. 6), but was scathing of the fact that he had omitted to include such elements as a pantry, a closet, an oven, a pigsty or a hen-roost.

> Handsome as some of these lodges are as objects to look at, they are as miserably deficient of comfort within as the mud cabins of Ireland, the stone hovels in some parts of Scotland and the log houses of Poland.[83]

Loudon acknowledged that Hunt's predecessors, such as Gandy (1771-1843)[84], Gyfford (1773-1856)[85] and Elsam (1772-?)[86] suffered from the same failings, but he said they could be excused because they had been writing a generation before.

Fig. 7 is a design by Gandy from his *Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms, and other Rural Buildings; including Entrance Gates and Lodges* for a gardener's cottage with conservatory published in 1805.[87] As can be seen from the floor plan only one-third of the ground floor is dedicated as living space for the occupants who are allowed a single room as kitchen and sitting room with cramped bedroom space above. The plan is wholly deficient as far as the comfort and convenience of the occupants is concerned.

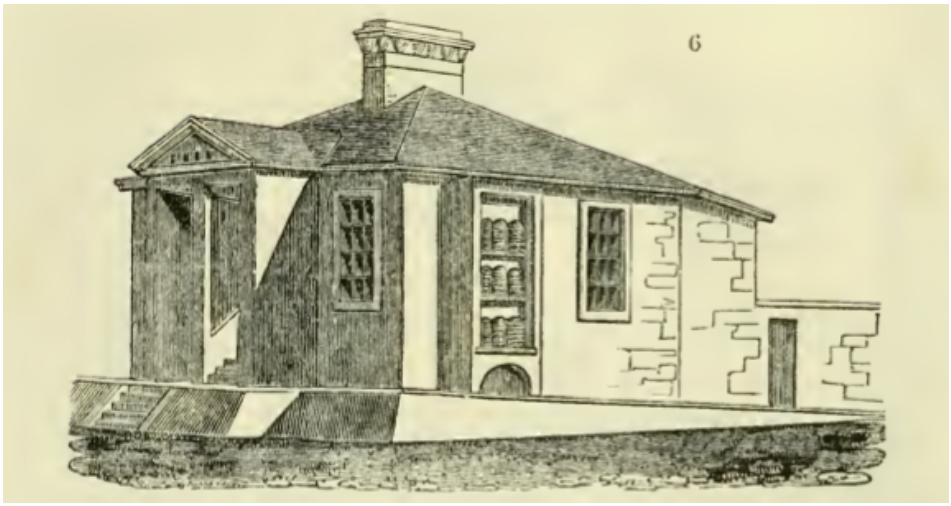


Fig. 3. Plan for Loudon's *beau ideal* cottage.[88]

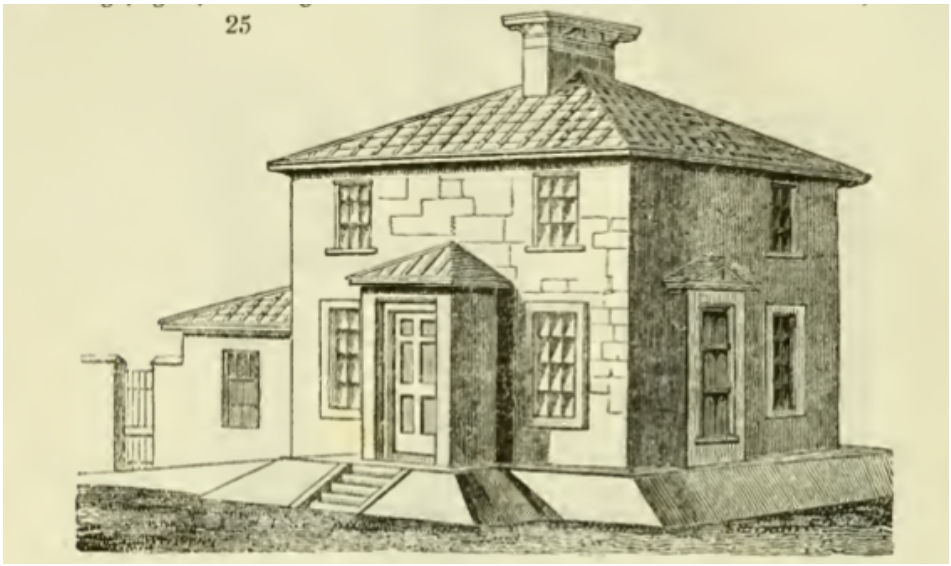


Fig. 4. The two-storey version of the cottage at Fig. 3.[89]

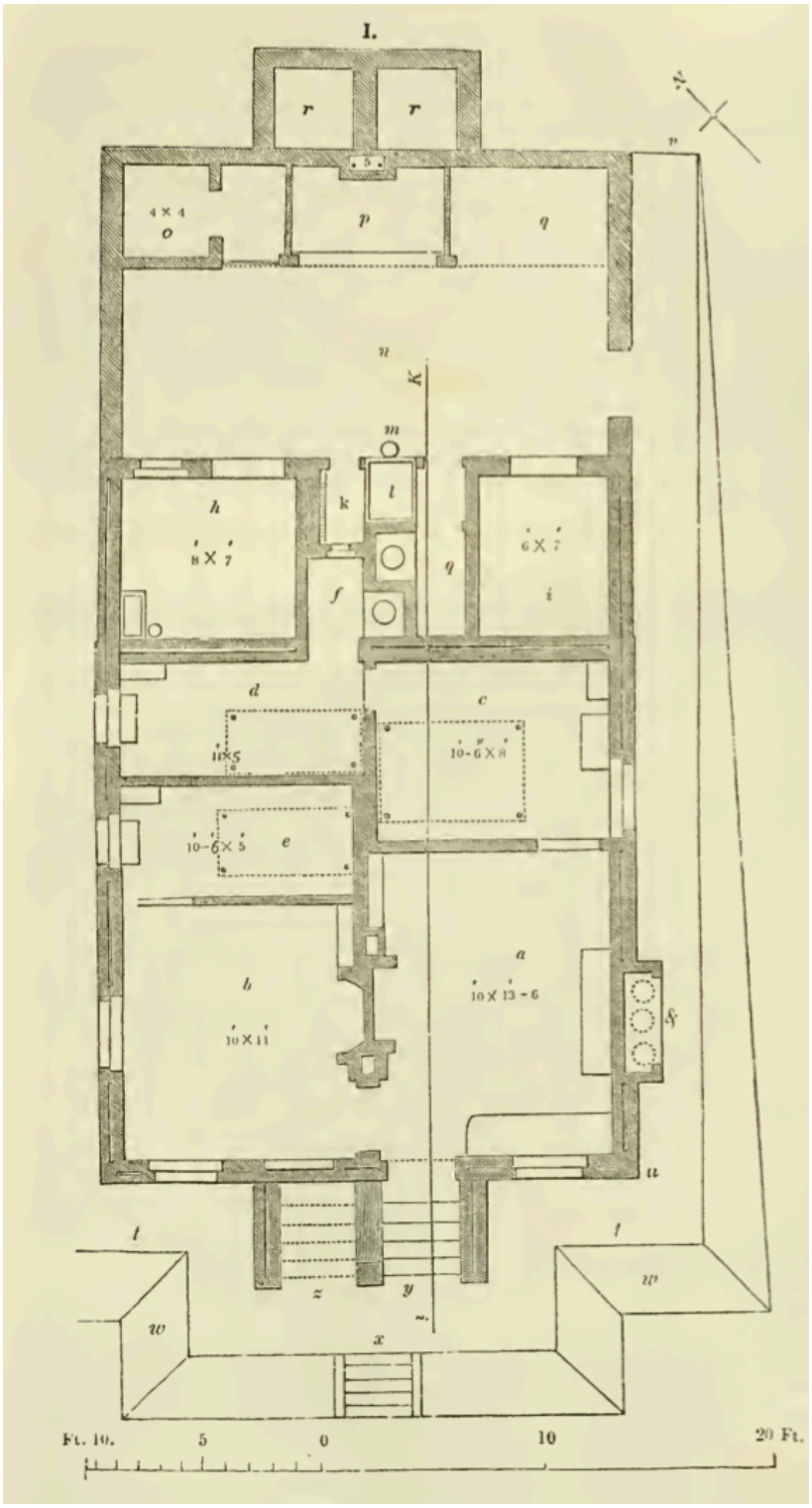
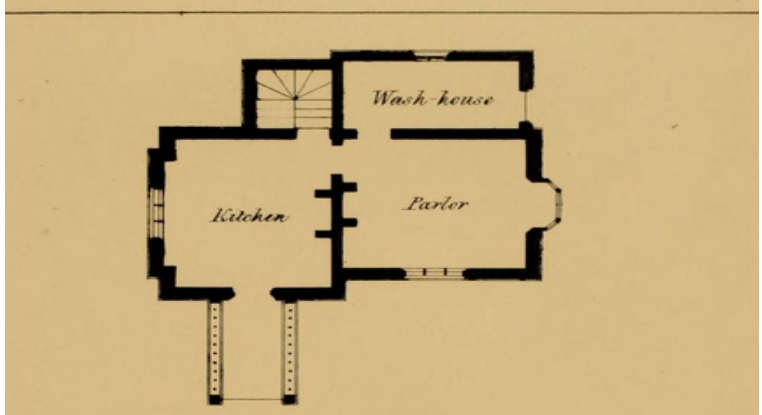


Fig. 5 Ground plan of *beau ideal* cottage, with *n* as the open yard, *h* as the cow-house, *k* as the poultry space and *o* as the pig-sty.[90]





Designed for the Entrance, and as a Gardener's Residence to the Grounds of a moderate-sized Gentleman's House. It consists of a Sitting-Room, Kitchen, and Out-House, with a Bed-Room, and Seed-Loft in the Roof.

For the Plan, see Plate A, No. 1.

Tile and Thatch are the only coverings represented in this and the following Plates. Stone is frequently used, and is very picturesque; but as it is only to be obtained of the proper quality in certain districts, the materials in most general use for such Buildings have been adopted.

If built of brick, rough casted or rough stuccoed, the windows of wood, and the porch of the same material, the roofs covered with plain tiles, and the inside finished in a simple, neat manner, containing rooms of the undermentioned sizes, would cost about £255.

Ground Floor.

	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Kitchen . .	12	9	by	13	6
Parlour . .	14	0	by	12	0
Wash-House .	13	6	by	6	6

In the Roof.

	Ft.	In.		Ft.	In.
Bed-Room .	14	0	by	12	0

Seed-Loft over the Kitchen.

Fig. 6. Hunt's plan for a gardener's cottage.[91]

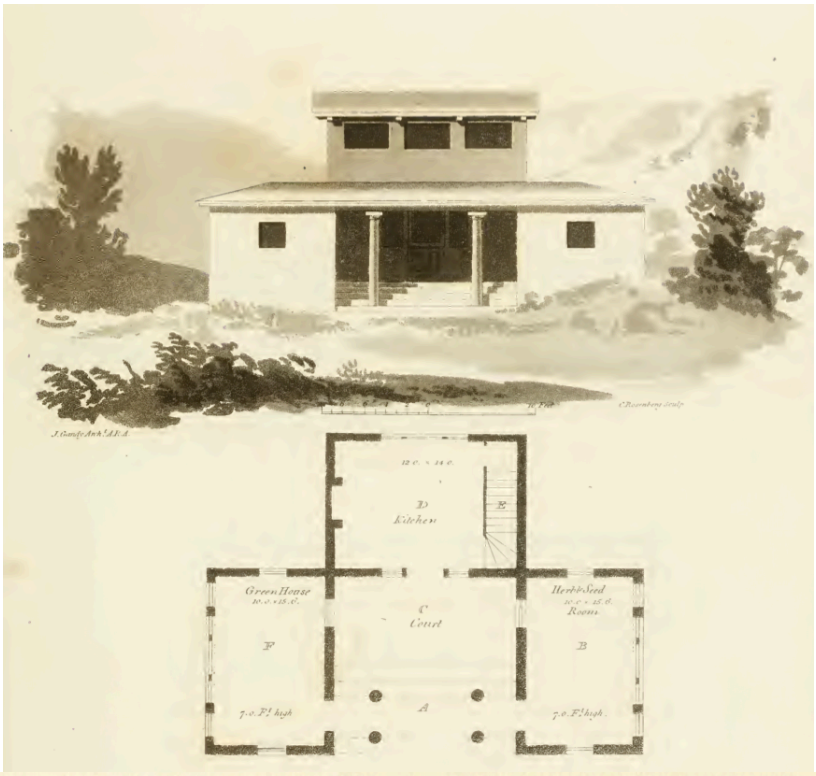


PLATE XXII.

A Cottage intended for a Park or Garden, designed for a Gardener's Dwelling and Conservatory.

A, covered way for drying herbs.

B, Herb and seed-room, 10 feet by 15 feet 6 inches, and 7 feet high.

C, Open court.

D, Kitchen and dwelling-room, 12 feet by 14 feet, and 7 feet 6 inches high.

E, Staircase to bed-chamber, with a closet under it.

F, Green-house or working-room, 10 feet by 15 feet 6 inches, and 7 feet high.

Bed-chamber 7 feet high.

Estimated at 360*l.*

Fig. 7. Gandy's plan for a gardener's cottage.[92]

The comfort of the occupier was Loudon's principal concern. In his design for model cottages he goes to great lengths to justify and then to explain every detail of the design, to show how it will enhance the comfort and the convenience and efficiency of the family who will be living there.[93] As an example, he proposes a method of collecting, preserving and purifying the rainwater which falls on the roof. He estimates that in the course of a year 12,600 gallons of water will fall onto the roof of his model cottage and proposes that it should be collected into cast-iron tanks, and that part should be filtered, so that it can be used for cooking, and the remainder should be stored to be used in the water-closets, as drinking water for the cow and pigs, for washing and cleaning and for watering the garden. Full specifications are given for the filtering mechanisms and the pumps (Fig. 9).[94]

Loudon wrote:

> It is clearly both the duty and the interests of the higher classes to raise, by every means, the standard of enjoyment among all that are under them. Humanity dictates this line of action as well as prudence; for it would be easy to show that, if improvement did not pervade every part of society, the breach between the extreme parts would soon become so great as to end in rupture.[95]

Humanity, prudence, whatever the motivation, Loudon knew that he had to influence the owners of the landed estates if he was to achieve better housing for gardeners and labourers. He set about this in three ways: by publishing designs for cottages; by drawing attention to instances where landowners had built housing of which he approved; and by denouncing those employers who fell short of the mark. Loudon made regular tours of well-known gardens, which he wrote up for the *Gardener's Magazine*, and he made a point of reviewing the gardeners' accommodation at the same time. In 1829 he visited Woburn Abbey where he praised the gardener's house, saying that it did honour to the Duke. He added:

> We could name a duke, the whole of whose head gardener's shed, chimney-top included, in which the gardener keeps a tall wife, and one or two children, might be erected in the parlour referred to.[96]

Perhaps the tall wife belonged to Andrew Toward, the head gardener at Bagshot Park, of whose accommodation Loudon wrote scathingly on the same tour, saying it was one of the smallest and lowest he had ever seen. He acknowledged that Mr Toward would be deeply offended by his remarks, and admitted that in the past he had been reluctant to speak out for that reason but said that:

> Candour and sincerity however is doubtless the best for all parties in the long run, and we are determined in future to speak our own mind as to gardeners' houses, and everything else, without considering whether it may be pleasing or otherwise to either servant or master.[97]

Loudon spoke candidly and sincerely, some would say brutally, when he gave his assessment of the house which was being built for Mr Toward to replace the one which he had condemned. He viewed it during the course of construction and concluded that it should be pulled down and a new one built to a better specification in a different situation. He said that the new house was being built in a too shady and damp a position, that the ground floor should have been raised four feet above the surface and that the height of the bedrooms was too low.[98] Good ventilation and an adequate circulation of air were considered by Loudon to be essential to good design.[99] A book by Dr Andrew Combe (1797-1847), *Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health,*[100] influenced his thinking. In his review of Dr Combe's book Loudon wrote:

> No man who has read [this work] will voluntarily consent to live in the small low-ceilinged and often damp houses or sheds which gardeners, both journeymen and master, now too frequently occupy, neither will they consent to have them surrounded by trees and bushes, in such a manner as to make ventilation impossible.[101]

The construction of Toward's house went ahead as planned despite Loudon's reservations. Toward graciously wrote to Loudon a year later saying that his fears had been unfounded and that he had happily settled in.[102] Fig. 10 shows the head gardener's house at Bagshot Park as it was in 1910; it is not known if this is the same house which was built for Mr Toward.

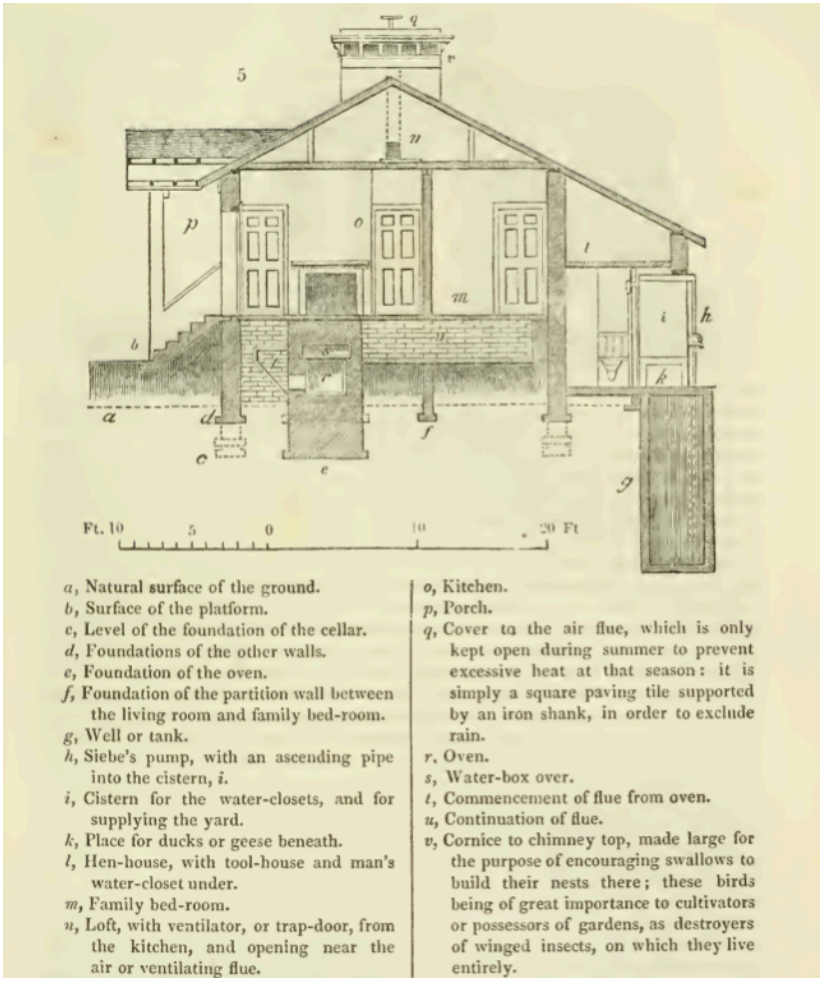


Fig. 8. An example of Loudon's in-depth treatment of cottage design.[103]

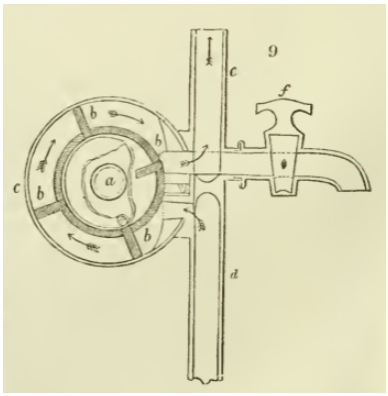


Fig. 9. Loudon and Siebe's rotary pump.[104]

This pump…operates by the rotation of a roller, on its axis, a, having paddles or pistons, b,b,b,b, by which, when the roller is turned, a vacuum is produced within the barrel c…The water flows up the rising trunk, d, into the barrel, and as the paddles go round they force it into an opening which conducts it wherever it may be wanted, and by that means produces a continual stream. By having an ascending tube, e, this water may be forced to any height, and, by having a horizontal tube with a cock, f, it may be let out at pleasure.

Loudon encountered similar problems at Ham House whose head gardener was James Loudon (who was not related to J. C. Loudon), where the external appearance belied a dismal interior:

> We entered the very picturesque thatched cottage of Mr Loudon, and were grieved to find that what was so very pretty without was so very objectionable within. The rooms are small, and so low the ceiling as to be quite disagreeable to the eye; and to a person breathing in them for any time, most unwholesome. We cannot too strongly express our disapprobation of those architects who think more of external effect than of the comfort of the occupant, and actually do not bestow half the care on a cottage for a fellow creature than they do on a design for a stable.[105]

The third way in which Loudon pursued his campaign for better housing was through the publication of drawings and ground plans in his magazines and in the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*. In 1830 he published the design of a gardener's house (Fig. 11) by Robert Abraham, which had been built for the Earl of Surrey at Worksop Manor.[106] The gardener's house at Worksop Manor was placed on the northern wall of the kitchen garden, enabling the gardener, from his office, to look directly across the garden to the entrance. The house is flanked by conservatories and has its own walled garden behind it so that the gardener's family would have complete privacy. This, thought Abraham, might help to overcome the prejudice which many owners had against employing married men with children.[107]

In 1832 Loudon began to publish a series of eight plans of head gardeners' houses specifically designed to be connected to kitchen garden walls (see Appendix III). It had been noted there had been an omission in the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* in that all the designs of houses and lodges suitable for gardeners had been detached, whereas there was a demand for houses which were built either against or into kitchen garden walls.[108]



THE GARDENER'S HOUSE AT BAGSHOT PARK.

Fig. 10. The head gardener's house at Bagshot Park 1910.[109]

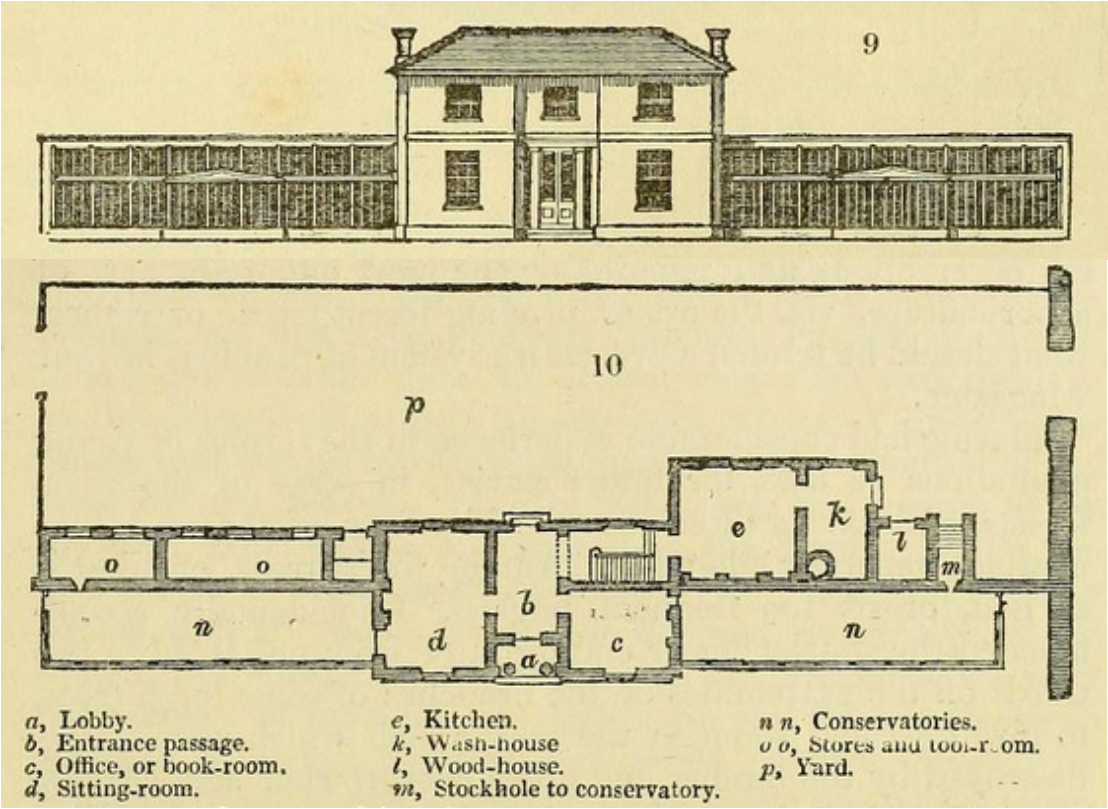


Fig. 11. Robert Abraham's design for the gardener's cottage at Worksop Manor.[110]

The eight designs are for each of the four corners and each of the four walls of a kitchen garden. The first design (Fig. 12) is a simple single storey house for the east wall. It has a raised ground floor and a semi-basement in which there is a beer cellar, washroom and a baking oven from which a flue carries under-floor heating to the rooms above. On the ground floor there are three bedrooms, a parlour and the gardener's office. The office (d on the ground floor plan) has fitted bookshelves for the library, a large desk with seed-drawers under and two doors, one opening onto the rear hallway in which there is a hatch from which the men can come to collect their wages. The main bedroom and the parlour both look out onto the kitchen garden, so that the garden can be watched over day and night. In the yard there is room for a cow-house and pig-sty. The most substantial of the eight models is that designed by John Robertson for the south wall of the kitchen garden (Fig. 13). Robertson worked with Loudon as an architectural draughtsman from 1829 and remained employed by him for "upwards of nine years".[111] His handsome five-bay house has the trademark Loudon features of a raised ground floor and internal chimney-breasts. The master bedroom and parlour look out onto the garden "for the convenience of inspection by night and by day".[112] It is clearly intended for a large estate, as there are bedrooms for a servant and an apprentice, as well as three other bedrooms.[113]

Loudon followed the publication of these designs with a series of designs for detached gardeners' houses, for which the preferred position was in the slips of the kitchen garden. An exception to this rule would be allowed only if the house were to be an ornament in its own right: "so as to become an agreeable object in the general scenery".[114]

Loudon was particularly impressed with the designs of T. J. Ricauti (d. 1842) in his book *Rustic Architecture*,[115] published in four parts in 1840. Ricauti was one of the architects who had contributed to Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Architecture.* Loudon singled out his design of a gardener's cottage as being a good example of a cottage which could be built economically by country carpenters, bricklayers and masons without having to employ an architect.[116] Loudon approved of Ricauti's emphasis on the interior:

> Mr Ricauti's designs are not of the cold heartless character, which were published by several architects of taste 15 or 20 years ago, in which all the skill of the architect was bestowed on the exterior, and the interior not a whit advanced beyond the state in which it was in the days of Holinshead.[117]

Loudon was quick to praise an architect of whom he approved, but scathing of the profession as a whole because of their failure to improve the standard of cottage architecture. He wrote:

> An architect or a landscape gardener, therefore, who has sprung from the people is rarely found with the moral courage necessary to propose to the rich who employ them any ameliorations of any kind for the poor.[118]

In 1842 a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* was published, and was warmly welcomed by Dr John Lindley (1799-1865), with whom Loudon had not always seen eye to eye. Lindley made the point that, in the past, a country carpenter or bricklayer had floundered without guidance from an architect, which led to materials being wasted and estates disfigured, but with the detailed instructions and specifications now available in the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* that should no longer happen.[119] He writes:

> Cottage Architecture! Why, what a change is here from what we remember in our youth. The very word speaks of civilisation, good taste, and benevolence… What was formerly the rule and custom is now the exception and disgrace; and the strong condemnation of society compels an attention to the comforts of cottagers, even from those who have not human feeling enough to see the propriety of it… Half a century ago, such a book as this of Mr Loudon's would have been a bibliographical extravagance; under existing circumstances it is a work of the utmost practical utility. Indeed we are not sure that we do not agree with "The Times" that it is the most valuable of Mr Loudon's many writings.[120]

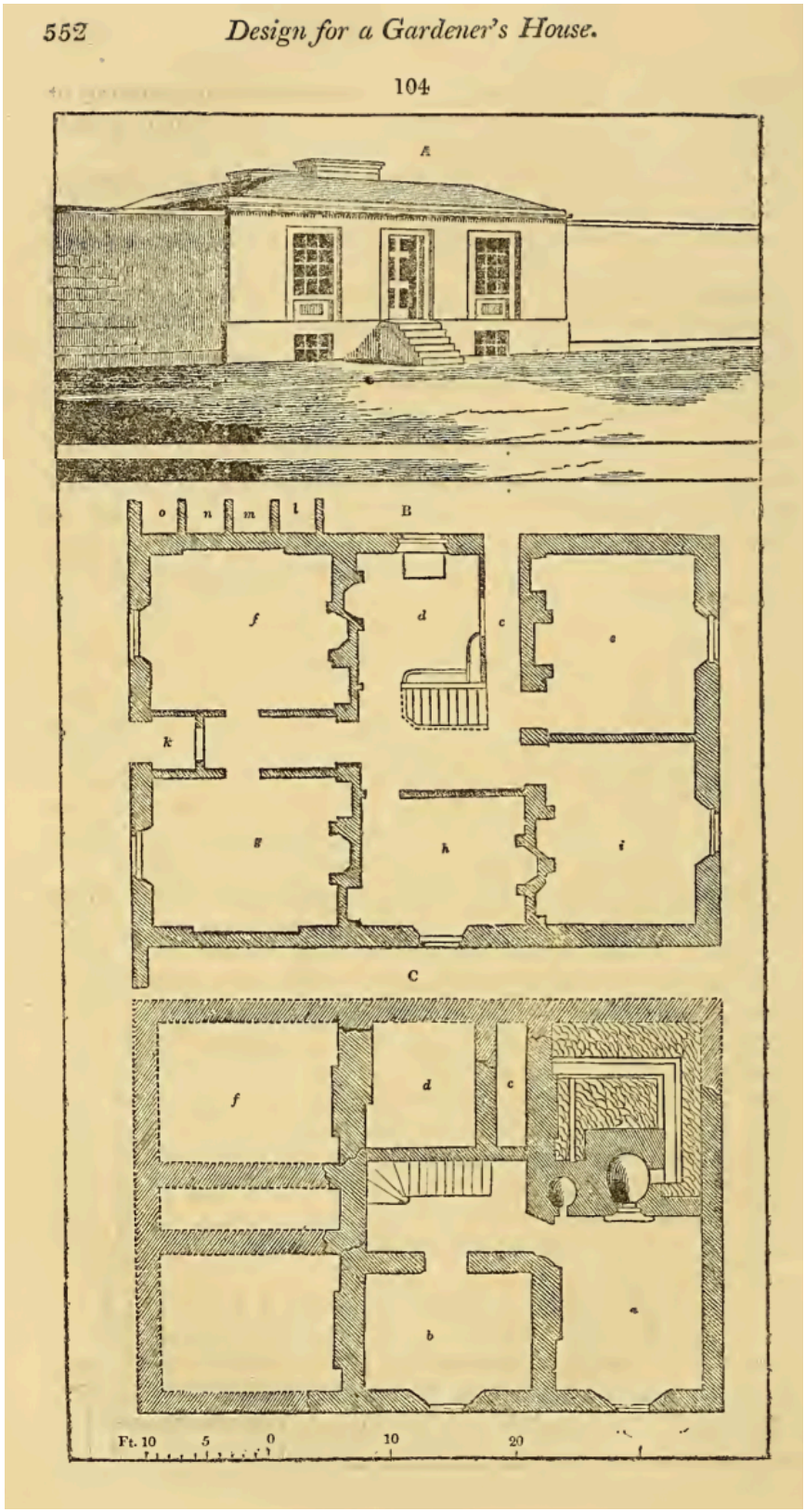


Fig. 12. A design for a gardener's cottage for the east wall of a kitchen garden.[121]

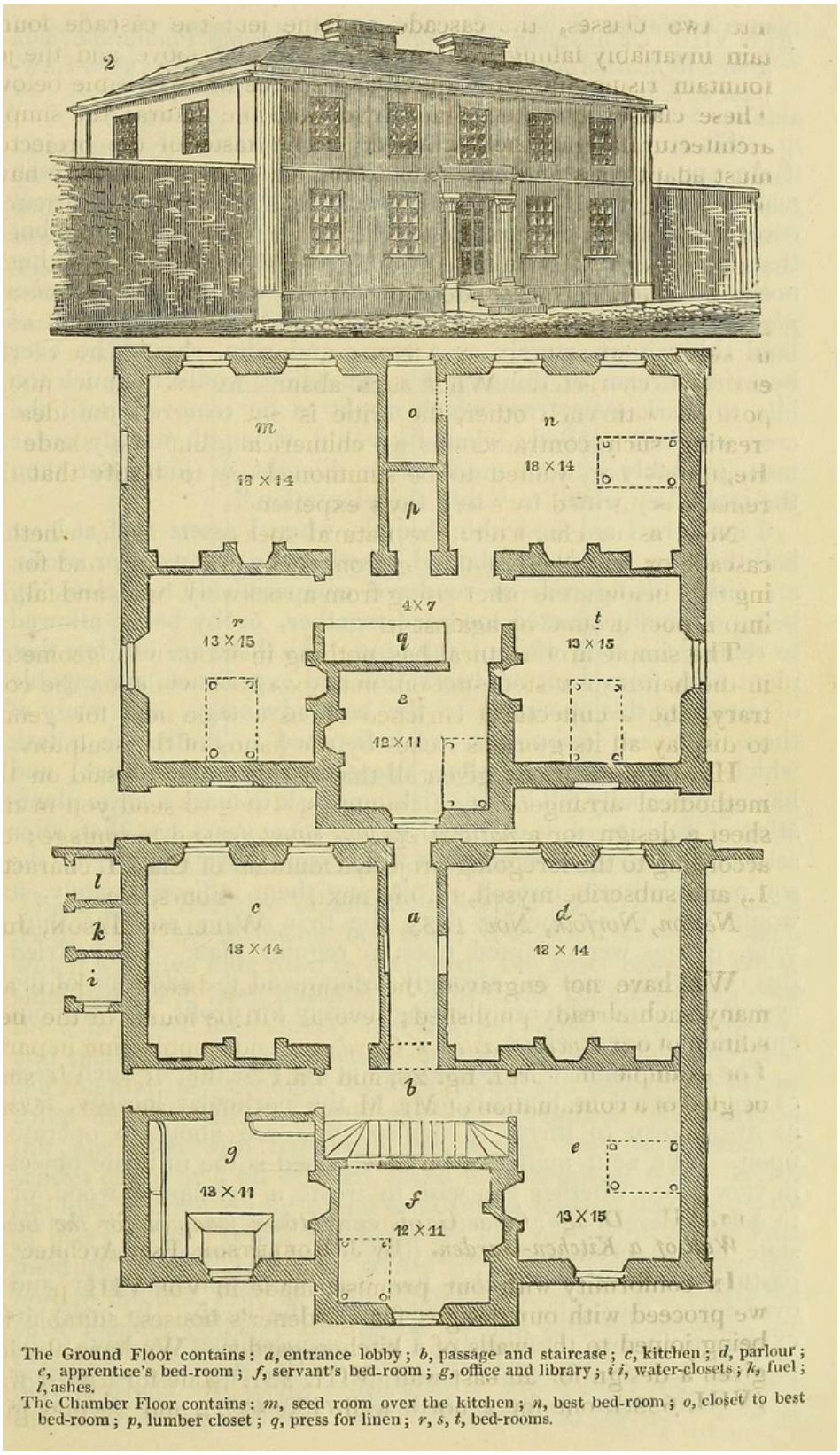


Fig. 13. Robertson's design for a gardener's house, for the south wall of a kitchen-garden.[122]

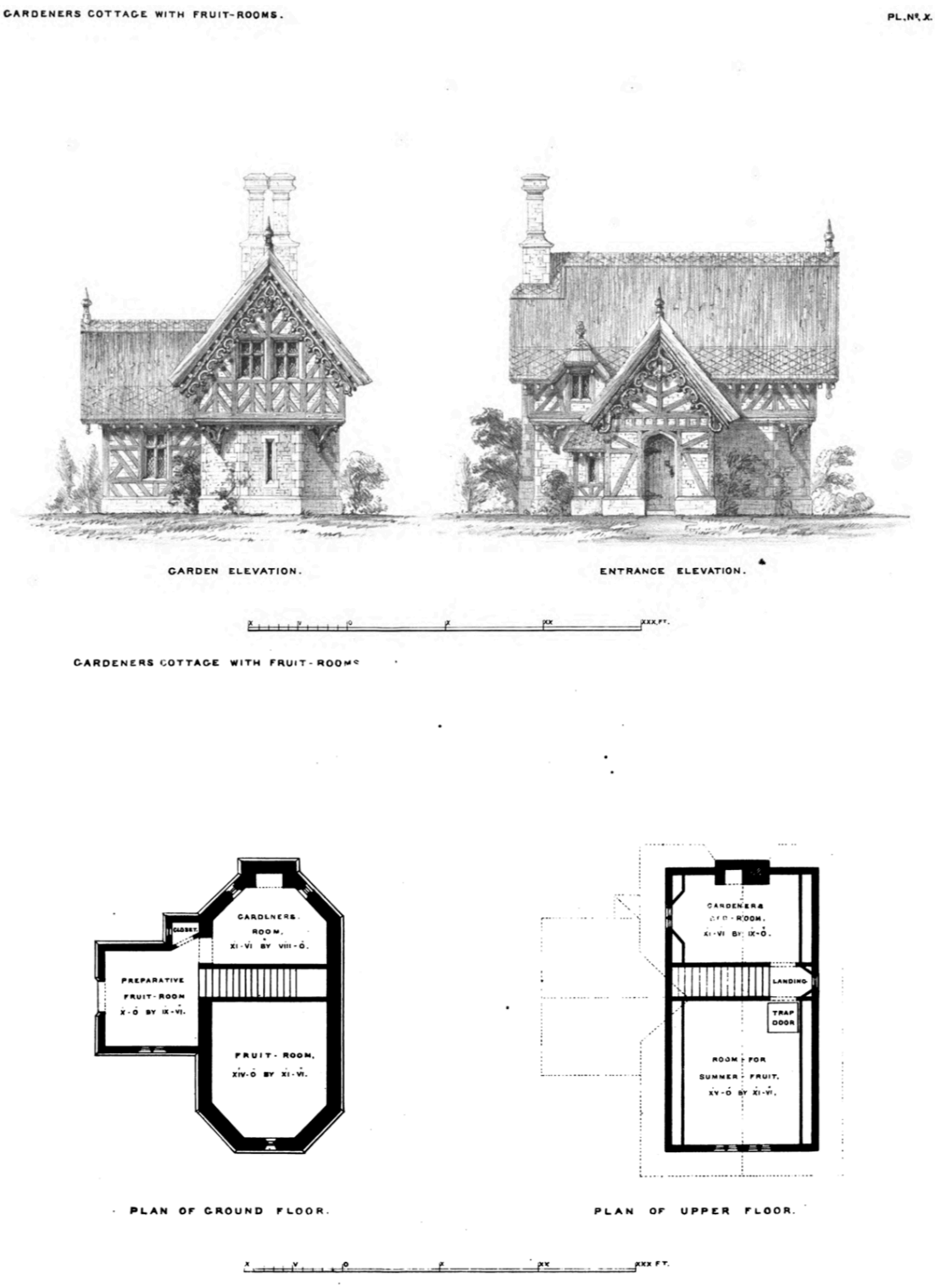


Fig. 14. Ricauti's plans for gardener's cottage with fruit-rooms.

JOSEPH PAXTON AND EDENSOR

The influence of Loudon and his colleague, John Robertson, can be seen in the re-building of the village of Edensor at Chatsworth, the estate in Derbyshire owned by the Duke of Devonshire. At the start of the nineteenth century the eastern side of the village of Edensor sprawled in a series of dilapidated cottages close to the entrance to Chatsworth park, as depicted in a pen and wash drawing by Constable in 1801 (Fig. 15). There was a problem with "dirty, ragged-looking children...appearing to open the gate on the passage of a carriage" and it was felt that the dilapidated appearance of the cottages reflected badly on the estate.[123] As one of a series of improvements proposed by Joseph Paxton (1803-1865), who had been appointed head gardener at Chatsworth in 1826, John Robertson was commissioned in 1838 to design ten cottages, for a new "model village" in part replacement of the existing village of Edensor, in a valley a few hundred yards away and out of sight of the road to Chatsworth. The houses near the entrance gates were taken down.

Robertson's new houses were in a variety of architectural styles, principally Tudor, Norman and Italianate, in designs which had been featured in Loudon's *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* and in his architectural magazine, some by Robertson himself. Care was taken not to place two properties in the same style next to each other, and it has been noted that "this ensured that each could be appreciated as a piece of architecture in its own right; something assisted by the topography of the small valley along which much of the village is strung out".[124] The design was given unity by the use of stone as the building material throughout.

In the past, estate villages had been removed and rebuilt for the convenience of the estate owner, often to improve a view, a policy which inspired the scorn of Goldsmith in "The Deserted Village".[125] But there was nothing of sweet Auburn here. The new Edensor had been created primarily for the convenience and comfort of the estate workers, in the privacy of their own valley, set apart from the road to Chatsworth and out of sight of the main house. Each of the houses had a good water supply and a sound sewerage system.[126] It was noted at the

time that "the houses are all extremely comfortable, and fitted up in a neat and substantial manner, and are evidently the pride of their occupants".[127] They were all provided with substantial gardens, but in order to preserve the status of a model village it was made a rule of the estate that no tenant was allowed to keep livestock on the estate. However, it was recognised that the keeping of a cow, pigs and poultry was essential to the well-being of a household, and so each household was given an allotment with small field barns to the west of the village in which their livestock could be housed.[128]

A substantial proportion of the estate workers who occupied the cottages at Edensor were gardeners. Appendix IV contains an analysis of the census returns for Edensor and Chatsworth from 1841 to 1911, giving the names of the gardeners who resided there.[129] At the entrance to Edensor is a lodge designed by Robertson in castellated style which the 1861 census reveals was occupied by an under-gardener, James Booth (Fig. 16).[130] It is likely that the inspiration for this lodge came from a design in the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*[131] "a Castellated Lodge, as a Dwelling for a Gardener, or other upper Servant, on a Gentleman's Estate".[132] Loudon described the design, which had been submitted by the building firm of Messrs. W. and H. Laxton, as "small and simple".[133] It was described over eight pages, in three formats. The basic design, as shown in the perspective drawing had two main rooms on the ground floor and two bedrooms, plus two box-rooms on the upper storey (Fig. 17). Ground plans for two more substantial buildings, in the same castellated style, were also given, of which the most elaborate (Fig. 18) contained a "china closet" and a "wine closet" in the towers which formed the corners of the principal ground floor room, clearly considered entirely appropriate to a gardener's house.[134] Loudon approved of the design except in two respects. He disliked the placing of the chimney-stacks on the outside walls, because of the loss of heat through the walls, but thought that this failing could be overcome by making the walls thicker and leaving a vacuum between the chimney and the flue "to lessen the conducting power of the wall". Secondly, he thought that the towers should be taller by a few feet to raise them clear of the gable ends.[135]

Robertson's was by no means the only example of a castellated gardener's house to have been built. There is an extravagant example at Rotherfield Park, Hampshire, where the gardener was housed in a large tower, with its own subordinate tower (Fig. 19) designed to reflect the style and grandeur of the main house. There are three examples in Cumbria; at Cardew Lodge (page 24 of volume 2), Wray Castle (page 117 of volume 2) and Netherwood (page 76 of volume 2). There is a particularly elegant example set into the kitchen garden walls at Floors Castle, Roxburghshire (page 44 of volume 2). Another example, that at Brocklesbury Park, Lincolnshire, also attached to the garden walls, may have been designed by Lancelot Brown (1716-1783) as the kitchen garden is attributed to him (page 19 of volume 2).[136]



Fig. 15. Pen and wash drawing of Edensor by Constable, 1801.[137]



Fig. 16. The castellated lodge at Edensor.[138]

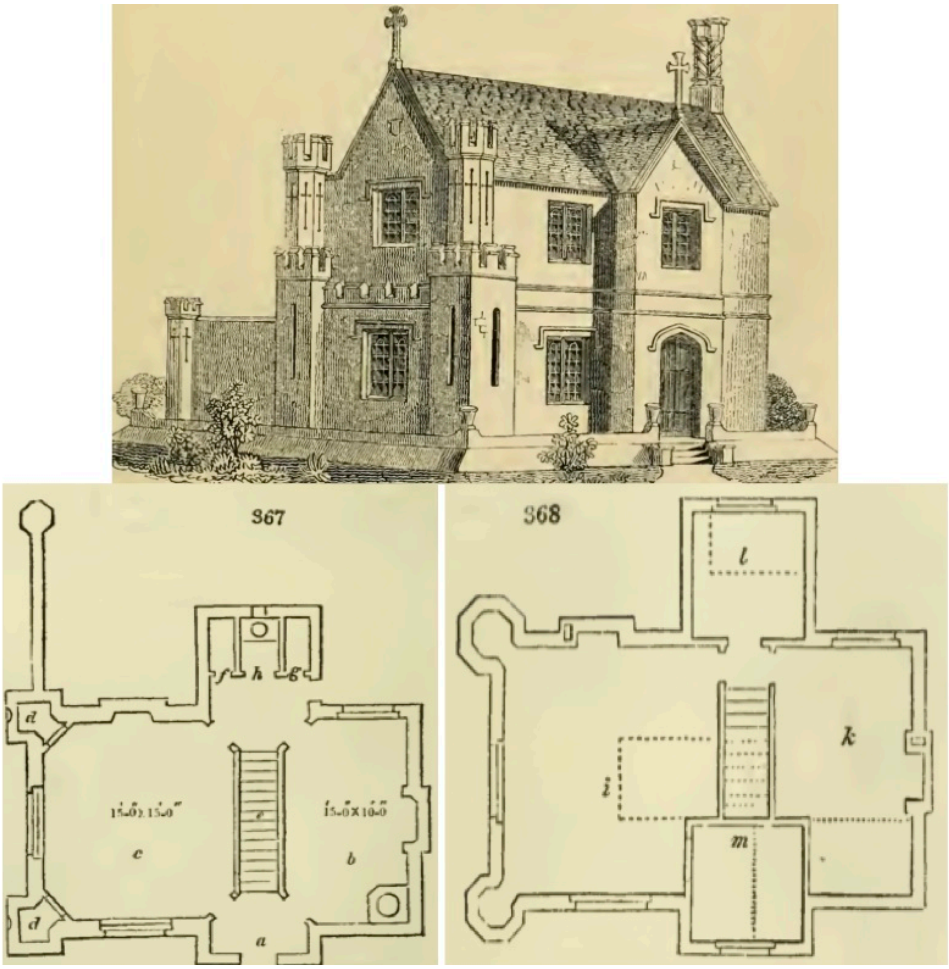


Fig. 17. Messrs. W. and H. Laxton's design for castellated lodge.[139]

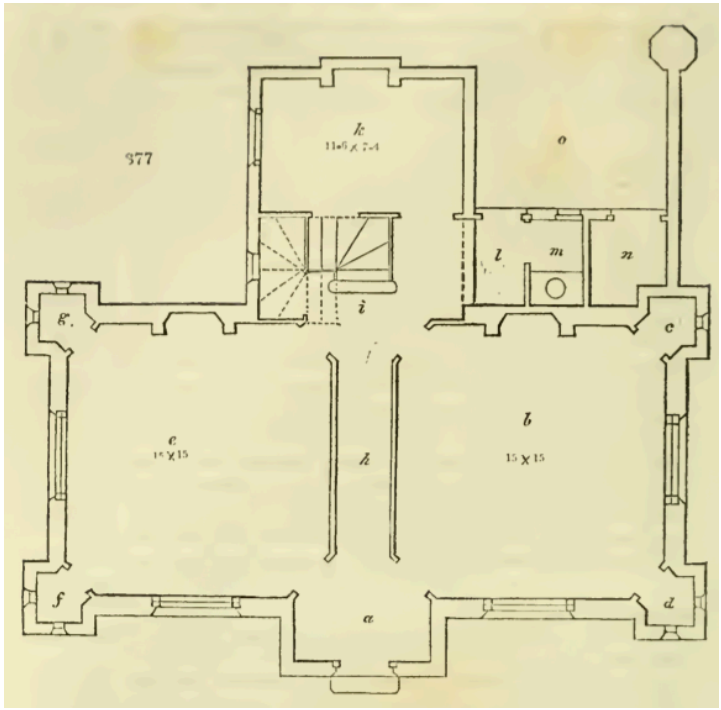


Fig. 18. Ground plan for a castellated lodge showing the china and wine closets, c & d, respectively.



Fig. 19. The gardener's house at Rotherfield Park, Hampshire.[140]



Fig. 20. Rock Cottage, Edensor.[141]

ROCK COTTAGE AND ROBERT AUGHTIE

Rock Cottage (Fig. 20) was another house in Edensor, designed by Robertson, in which a gardener resided. In 1848 the principal occupant of Rock Cottage was a Mrs Wallace, the seventy-year-old widow of John Wallace, a stone-mason who had been employed at Chatsworth. Her son Robert had been employed as a gardener at Chatsworth and had been sent by Joseph Paxton on a plant-hunting expedition to America, where he was drowned when the boat in which he was riding capsized after hitting rapids on the Columbia River.[142] On 10 April 1848 Mrs Wallace took in as her lodger Robert Aughtie, a twenty-five-year-old single man, who had been employed in the gardens of the Duke of Devonshire's residence near London, Chiswick House.[143] Aughtie, who had brought with him a well-thumbed copy of Loudon's *Suburban Horticulturalist,* was impressed by Edensor's "newly built stone cottages of very pretty design".[144] He was given the spare bedroom in Rock Cottage, which he described as "a nice clean room, but very thinly furnished".[145] He had the room to himself but threatened to leave when Mrs Wallace wanted to bring in someone else to share the room with him.[146] Aughtie was at the stage of his career when he kept his eye open for head gardener's positions. In 1849, when he was 26, he was offered a position at Ashford Hall, Derbyshire at one guinea a week with a cottage but he did not have the confidence to accept the offer "as I am not yet proficient in vine forcing".[147] He evidently remained at Chatsworth for several years more, as he is named in the 1851 census as still living at Rock Cottage.[148] The information regarding Robert Aughtie comes from a diary which he kept for a period of three years while working at Chatsworth. His diary, like that of William Cresswell, who worked at Audley End, (page 103) reveals that in spite of long hours, hard discipline and low wages he engaged in a wide range of extra-curricular activities, did not express any dissatisfaction with his lot and seems to have led a happy and fulfilled life.

JOSEPH PAXTON AND BARBROOK

When Joseph Paxton first became head gardener at Chatsworth at the age of 23 he was provided with accommodation in a cottage in the slips of the kitchen garden.[149] His residence was referred to in the 1840 edition of Adam's *Gem of the Peak* as "Mr Paxton's elegant cottage".[150] In 1842 Paxton employed John Robertson to redesign the cottage, and the building later known as Barbrook began to emerge (Fig. 21). In the 1843 edition of *Gem of the Peak* it is referred to as "Mr Paxton's very pretty Anglo-Italian villa".[151] In an article in Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine* in July 1842 Robertson describes the library which he had designed for Paxton in the new house, which had a marble chimneypiece decorated with shell-work, flanked with oak bookcases.[152] Above the chimneypiece was a huge plate glass window, looking into a one hundred foot conservatory, which by an ingenious device could convert into a mirror, allowing Paxton at one moment to enjoy the view into the conservatory and in the next to enjoy his privacy. As Robertson lyrically describes it:

> Here [Paxton] sees the splendid Rhododendron altaclerense forming a background to the more delicate Lilium speciosum; beside these are the Araucaria excelsa, myrtles, acacias, and a variety of interesting fuschias &c., vying with each other in richness of tint and gracefulness of form; with innumerable others of bewitching beauty, that appear like enchantment, and remind the visitor of his boyish dreams over the Arabian nights, which are now realized. This is the effect which, in an instant, as if by magic, can be destroyed, leaving a room with two dull windows and a mirror over the fireplace.[153]

It was in this room that in December 1843 Paxton and his wife Sarah entertained Queen Victoria together with Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington.[154] The Queen was reported to be "very much pleased with the neatness and order" of Paxton's house. Afterwards, the royal party rode in open carriages to Edensor, where Paxton gave them a tour of the new model village.[155]

In subsequent years Barbrook was extended, with the addition of a four-storey tower. It was also given its own section of parkland and two drives were constructed, one for the Duke and a separate one for other visitors.[156] Barbrook also had its own lodge (Fig. 22). Barbrook was undoubtedly an exceptional house, built for an exceptional head gardener, but the idea of a substantial

mansion with its own lodge for the head gardener had been foreshadowed by Loudon as early as 1833. In his *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* Loudon had described his *beau ideal* kitchen garden, which was furnished with curvilinear hothouses with, in the slips, a magnificent house for the head gardener, eighty feet in width, with two wings and its own lodge house (Fig. 23).

Paxton's position was no doubt exceptional, but Barbrook continued to be occupied by the head gardeners at Chatsworth after his death and it became the home of his successor, Thomas Speed, and of subsequent head gardeners.[157]

Paxton was by no means alone in receiving lavish rewards from a patron who basked in the reflected glory of their head gardener. At Trentham, the Duke of Sutherland built an imposing new house in the "Elizabethan" style,[158] (Fig. 24) for his head gardener, George Fleming, who had completely remodelled the gardens there, which, like Chatsworth, received considerable acclaim. Fleming was called Trentham's "presiding genius"[159] and the Duke showed his esteem by erecting a colonnade of arches leading from the conservatory to the mansion which he inscribed with his head gardener's name.[160]

ESTATE COTTAGES

The rebuilding of Edensor was part of a trend for building new workers' cottages on estates, a trend which was to gather pace as the century progressed. As from one-third to one-half of all the workers on an estate will have been employed in the garden, this trend was important to the provision of accommodation for gardeners. In 1834 Loudon had praised the progressive policies of the Marquess of Aylesbury at Tottenham Park,[161] where the gardener, Mr Burns, was given a library and the estate workers were provided with new thatched cottages, each with a quarter of an acre of garden.[162] The more senior workers were given detached villas which, in Loudon's words, "if near London would be considered as fit for respectable merchants or private gentlemen".[163] In 1836 the Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House, built for his garden workers a group of cottages, all with gardens, which Loudon termed the best in Gothic architecture.[164] When John Tollemache inherited the very extensive Dysart estate in Cheshire in 1844

he built a fortified castle at Peckforton in Cheshire at a cost of £68,000,[165] but he spent a further £280,000[166] in the following decades building cottages and houses on the estate, each with three acres and a cow.[167] It is said that he personified the romantic Victorian vision of the benign feudal landowner.[168] Whatever his benevolent motives it is also clear that he was acting in his own best interests. He had built his fortified castle in response to widespread rural incendiarism at the beginning of the decade and he shared the majority view in believing that the best way to avoid rural unrest was to look after the people who depended on him.

In 1866 Lord Leicester, the owner of Holkham Hall in Norfolk, spoke of the advantages to a landowner of his workers living in cottages on his estate.[169] He owned 521 cottages, which housed about 450 workers, all of whom he knew were decently housed. Those of his employees who lived in rented cottages outside the estate tended to live, he said, in poor accommodation at a high rent and they had three or four miles to walk to work each day.[170] It was in his interests to provide accommodation for everyone who worked for him. Thus economic imperatives as well as benevolent impulses had a bearing on the provision of better accommodation. Pressure was beginning to be brought to bear from society as well. Sanitary inspectors appointed by the government, were given the right to inspect and condemn unsatisfactory housing. Samuel Clarke, the inspector for Norfolk, in answer to criticism that he had been too harsh in his assessments wrote in *The Times* in 1863:

> It may be supposed by some that the cases I have given are not true types of the general state of the labourer in the county; but so far from this being the case, I regret to say that my experience of 14 years as a sanitary inspector enables me to affirm that I have simply shown the average condition of the dwellings of the poor, suppressing some of the cases of the intermingling of the sexes too revolting for insertion in your columns.[171]

Voluntary societies began to play a role in bringing pressure to bear on landowners to improve the condition of their cottages. In 1859 The Agricultural Improvement Society ran a competition for the best design for a labourer's cottage, with the winning plans being published in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, and a similar competition run by the Central Cottage Improvement Society in 1867 in

Fig. 21. Barbrook, Chatsworth, Derbyshire. The home of Sir Joseph Paxton.

Fig. 22. The lodge to Barbrook.[172]

Fig. 41. The ground floor at Clouds. The housekeeper's room is 11 and the butler's room is 2.[239]

Fig. 42. Clouds' lower ground floor. The housekeeper's room is 38 and the butler's pantry is 10.[240]

HENHAM HALL AND THE TREND TOWARDS GRANDEUR AND PRIVACY

By the 1860s a trend was beginning to emerge for head gardeners' houses to be built away from the kitchen garden walls and to have their own grounds. Early examples are found at Linton Park in Kent (Fig. 43) and Henham Hall in Suffolk (Fig. 44). At Henham Hall there were eight ground floor rooms, of which four were 14 feet square, and four 12 feet square. The approach to the house is from the rear by a private road; at the front is a flower garden with pathways leading to the kitchen garden.[241] Whereas previously it was thought essential for the gardener's house to be placed centrally so that the gardener could keep a constant eye on what was going on, the status of the head gardener was now such that he could demand his own privacy. In 1881 Shirley Hibberd, in a leading article in the *Gardener's Magazine*, wrote that the head gardener should, as a matter of principle, live at some distance from the mansion, so as to be:

> [Free] from observation and to enjoy the scope needful for the development of his own character and domestic life and to give needful attention to his wife and children.[242]

The trend for head gardeners' houses to be in a plot of their own, with their own well-defined garden rather than being either attached to the kitchen garden walls, or in their slips, can be seen from the series of articles written by Wilcox for *Garden Life* between 1901 and 1914.[243] Wilcox carried on the tradition, which had been started by Loudon, of referring to the head gardener's house when he reviewed a garden, but Wilcox, in line with the more polite sensibilities of the time, eschewed Loudon's policy of referring to any faults. Seventy-four photographs of head gardener's houses in the Edwardian period are reproduced in volume 2. These contemporary photographs are valuable in that they demonstrate the quality of the houses in which the head gardeners lived and the high standard of their upkeep. The head gardener's accommodation at Merstham House (Fig. 45 and page 74 of volume 2) is a substantial three-story house with a well-maintained private garden. The head gardener there in 1906 was George Duncan, who was proud of the fact the young men who worked for him were in a comfortable bothy, and that in summer they had Saturday afternoons off to play cricket. He added that the lady of the house required him to supply flowers sufficient to fill sixty vases, year round.[244] The Dell (Fig. 46 and page 37 of

volume 2) at Englefield Green, Windsor, is similarly impressive. The long-standing head gardener there, Henry Ballantine, was a distinguished orchid grower and both he and his employer Baron Schroder were members of the Orchid Committee of the Royal Horticulture Society[245] and both were awarded the Victoria medal by the RHS.[246] At Wiseton Hall (Fig. 47 and page 113 of volume 2) in Nottinghamshire, the head gardener, G. W. Musk, reported in 1906 that his house was fitted with electricity "and every possible up-to-date appliance".[247] Merstham House, The Dell and Wiseton Hall were by no means in the first rank of estates, but their gardens were sufficiently important to their owners for them to provide a first class house for their head gardener.

When the head gardener's house at Henham Hall, with its 16 rooms and private gardens, was built in 1881 it was no longer exceptional, but had become the norm for large estates. Head gardeners, whether or not they also looked after the home farm or took on the land steward's duties, had sufficiently high status at this time to warrant a high standard of accommodation, and the benefits which went with it.

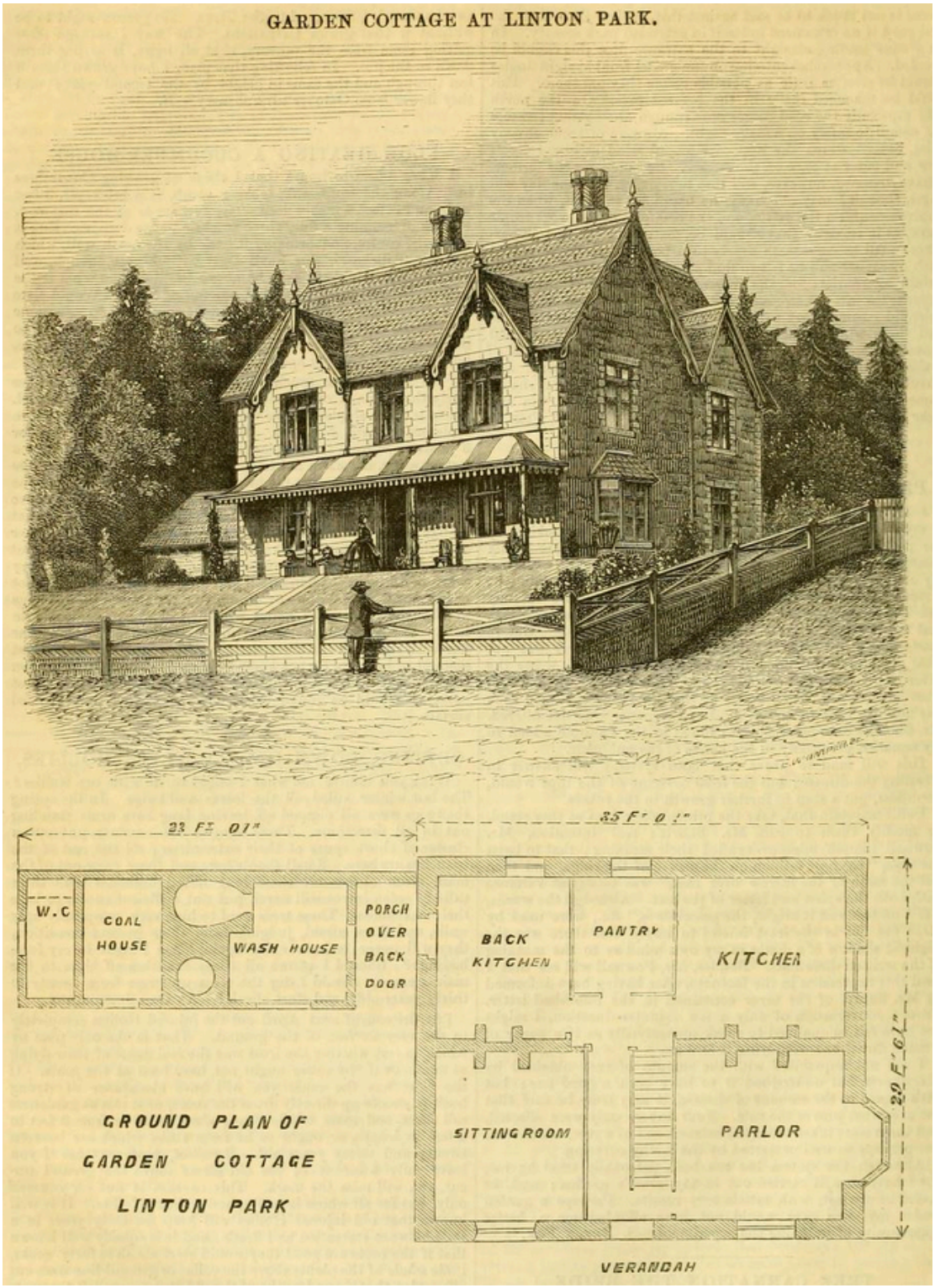


Fig. 43. Head gardener's cottage at Linton Park, Kent, with plan.[248]

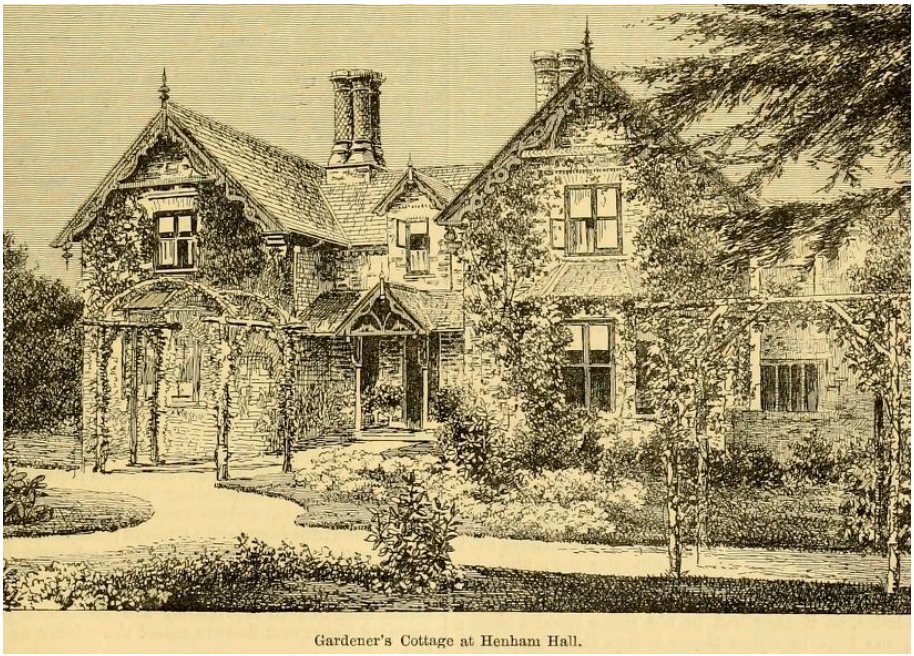

Gardener's Cottage at Henham Hall.

Fig. 44. The head gardener's house at Henham Hall, Suffolk.[249]


THE GARDENER'S COTTAGE, MERSTHAM HOUSE.

Fig. 45. The head gardener's house at Merstham House, Surrey.[250]

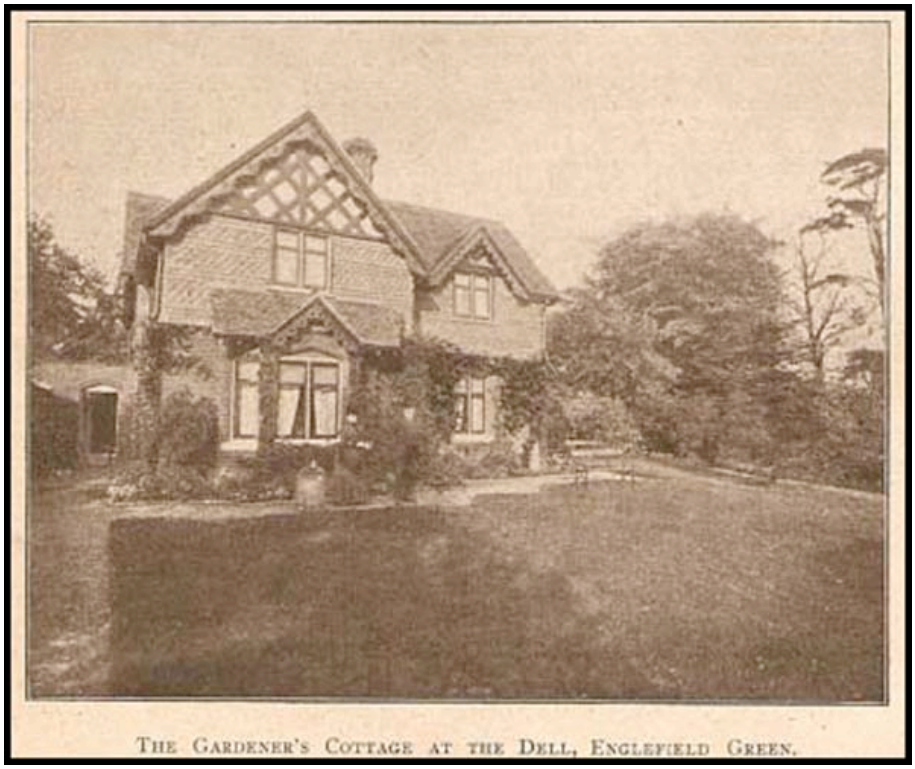


Fig. 46. The head gardener's house at The Dell, Surrey.[251]

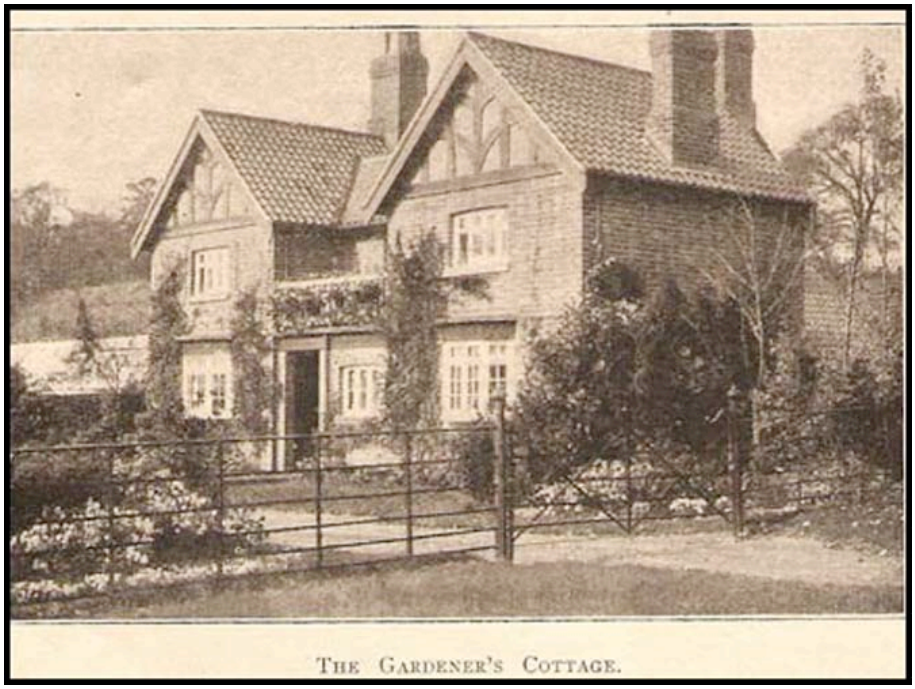


Fig. 47. The head gardener's house at Wiseton Hall, Nottinghamshire.[252]

THE BOTHY

> Show me the homes of a people, and I will define their character", is a broad way of putting a most important social truth. Man is oftener the victim than the master of circumstances. Cramped, foul, unhealthy homes have their counterparts in the mind, character, and condition of those who live therein.[253]
> - David Fish

The word bothy derives from the Gaelic for a cottage or hut, but by the time it had migrated to England it meant the place where unmarried young gardeners were housed, which might be nothing more glamorous than the back shed of a hothouse. Young men, as a rule, are not particular about their living quarters, and employers took advantage of that fact by placing them in makeshift, very basic, accommodation. Daniel Judd, a prominent head gardener, took his first job, in 1832, at Brockett Hall, working for Lord Melbourne, (who was then Home Secretary) under the head gardener Mr Dawson. He described his living conditions:

> Mr. Dawson, sen., his gardener, who was considered in those days a 'great gun' and a very good gardener, was very strict, and not over considerate with young men. I cannot say much for the comforts we experienced there. The bothy was a wretched place, situated between and joining two stokeholes; one miserable room at the back of the houses, and looking out on a high grassy bank about 10 feet distant, the roof covered with the old-fashioned pantiles, without any ceiling, so that when there came a drifting snow it found its way to us as we lay in bed.[254]

There was a sense that the bothy life was something of a rite of passage, an experience which all young men had to put up with to prove that they were fit for the hard life ahead. After three years at Brockett Hall, Daniel Judd moved to work in the royal kitchen garden at Kew, where he was chained up in front of the fireplace in the bothy and branded with the letters KG, signifying Kew Gardens.[255] Donald Beaton (1802-1868), who later was the celebrated head gardener at Shrubland Park recalled how, when working as a young man at Beaufort Castle, he was "brothered", which he described as "an awful ceremony by which a young fellow is admitted into the free-masonry of gardening".[256]

The bothies were not only uncomfortable and unhealthy, they could also be dangerous. It was convenient for them to be placed next to the stoke-holes, so that the young man on duty would be close at hand to feed the furnaces during the night. However, this led to the danger of suffocation if fumes from the furnace found their way into the bothy. On the night of 1 October 1875, Thomas Hayward, a 19-year-old under-gardener employed by the Earl of Coventry at Croome Court, who slept in a room at the back of the conservatory, was overcome by sulphurous fumes from the furnace and died. The jury at the inquest returned a verdict of "accidental suffocation". A similar incident occurred in 1881at Harefield Grange, Rickmansworth, when three young men, who were housed in a bothy next to the hot-house fires, were overcome by fumes during the night. One of them died.

However, a false impression can be gained by focussing on the dark side of bothy life. Not all bothies were as grim as those portrayed by Fowler and Judd, even in the first half of the nineteenth century. William Irvine, interviewed for the series "Incidents in the Life of Well-Known Horticulturalists", recalls that when at the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to Mr Kidd at Rossie Priory, which was then owned by Lord Kinnaird, he encountered a strict disciplinarian, but:

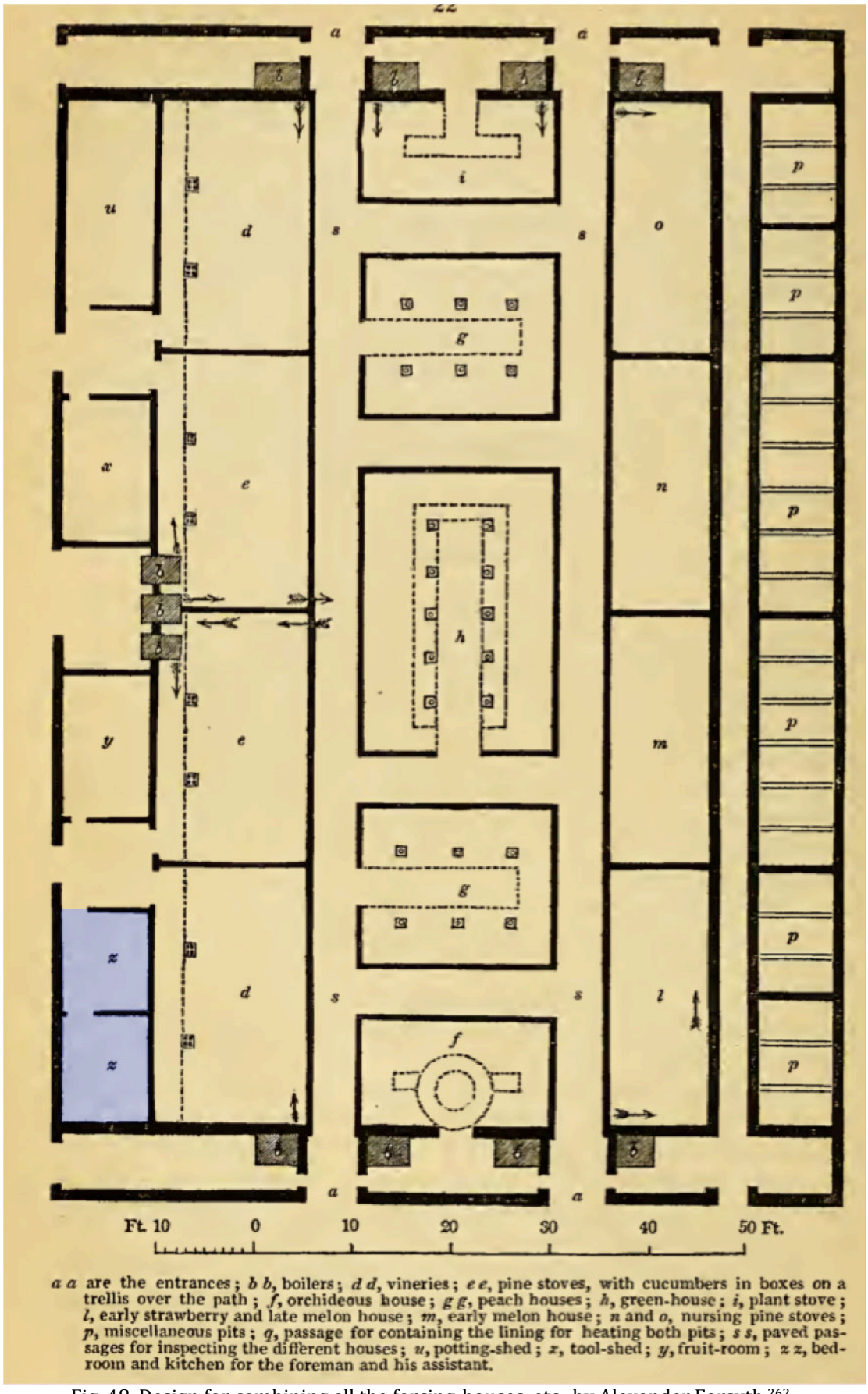
> Some of the young men today, who fancy that the veterans commenced in the dark ages, may be surprised to learn that we had a comfortable bothy on approved principles, with a bedroom for each member of the staff and a large sitting room in which the meals were served.[257]

Bothies were placed on the north walls of kitchen gardens for purely utilitarian reasons; this was the place where the men would be the most useful. The back-shed principle can be seen in Alexander Forsyth's design for a new kitchen garden consisting entirely of hot-houses and forcing-beds, published in *The Gardener's Magazine* (Fig. 48) in 1837. Two rooms (coloured blue on the plan) are provided for the young men, placed next to the boiler room, so that the men would be on hand to check temperatures, open and close ventilators and stoke the boilers, tasks which had to be carried out during the night as well as the day. The specification was that the kitchen would be paved with stone, and provided with an efficient fire-grate, a lock-up cupboard, a table and "two stout chairs".

The bedroom was to have a wooden floor, one foot higher than the kitchen, with an iron bedstead, a curtained bookcase and a small table. In this design, the efficient running of the garden was the only consideration, not the comfort of the men.[258]

The bothy (Fig. 49) on the northern wall of the kitchen garden at Belvoir Castle, Leicestershire is typical of its kind. It forms the eastern end of a continuous range of lean-to buildings forming the northern end of the walled garden. It was built at the same time as the walled garden which is primarily constructed of red brick with Gothic style brick and limestone decoration and embellishments. The roof is of grey slate. There are eight Gothic style windows set within plain brick openings. The bothy is now divided into six rooms, (Plan, Fig 50) but there is no record of how they were originally arranged.[259]

Few architectural plans of bothies survive from this period, but one such, (Fig 51) is of particular interest because it relates to a nursery in Leith Walk, Edinburgh, which is where Loudon was apprenticed as a young man. Loudon served two apprenticeships.[260] The first was with John Mawer, of Dalry, Edinburgh, for whom he worked until Mr Mawer died suddenly in 1796, after which Loudon moved to Messrs. Dickson and Shade in Leith Walk. One of his fellow apprentices with John Mawer was Joseph Archibald, who described Loudon as "as a comrade apprentice and bed-fellow".[261] It seems that Loudon shared bothy life with Archibald, when he was in his mid-teens even, perhaps, sharing a bed. Fig. 51, which is dated 1848, is after Loudon's time, and may show accommodation of a better standard than he experienced. There are two rooms: a kitchen and a bedroom, each with a fireplace. Each room has a sash window of a good size. The bedroom, which is 11ft by 9ft, contains three double beds, two of them placed end to end.



a a are the entrances; *b b*, boilers; *d d*, vineries; *e e*, pine stoves, with cucumbers in boxes on a trellis over the path; *f*, orchideous house; *g g*, peach houses; *h*, green-house; *i*, plant stove; *l*, early strawberry and late melon house; *m*, early melon house; *n* and *o*, nursing pine stoves; *p*, miscellaneous pits; *q*, passage for containing the lining for heating both pits; *s s*, paved passages for inspecting the different houses; *u*, potting-shed; *x*, tool-shed; *y*, fruit-room; *z z*, bedroom and kitchen for the foreman and his assistant.

Fig. 48. Design for combining all the forcing-houses, etc., by Alexander Forsyth.[262]

The men here were, indeed, expected to share a bed. Notwithstanding the cramped conditions in the bedroom, this bothy is clearly of a superior type. Purpose built, it is of a sound construction, with solid walls, a tiled roof, good ventilation and a source of heat in each room. Most importantly, it is not next door to the furnaces, even though it is only separated from the coal store by a space for the pony's gig.

There were constraints on progress, which included the cost of building stand-alone accommodation and the fact that it was the custom and practice to house young men in the back sheds. The young men themselves were sometimes not the best advocates in their own cause. Shirley Hibberd writes of the experience of a head gardener where, as he put it, "generosity over-ruled prudence":

> He tells us that the young men at a certain time were amply provided with the comforts of life in the bothies, but that they destroyed so rapidly and ruthlessly the various provisions made for them that he resolved to leave them to their fate – he could not contend against dissolute waywardness.[263]

There was also a reluctance on the part of head gardeners to sanction change, on the basis that if they had had to put up with a little hardship, so should the new generation. Sometimes however, the head gardener's own experience made him determined to provide some better for his men, as was the case with Mr Mowbray, at the Manchester Botanic Garden:

> We were particularly gratified by Mr Mowbray's arrangements of the back sheds, and the living-room and sleeping-rooms for the journeymen. Mr Mowbray, having, when a journeyman lived in the wretched stoke-holes of the Comte de Vandes's garden at Bayswater, and read there in the winter evenings by the light of a furnace door, is not altogether ignorant of what is wanted in such cases, and of the difference between the services of a man rendered comfortable and of one treated worse than a dog or a pig.[264]

Some back-shed bothies were clean and comfortable as at Dalkeith Palace in 1849:

> The upper storey of these sheds is divided into fruit, seed and store rooms, together with potting sheds and the living rooms for the young men. When we visited them, which was by accident, just before breakfast, they were the picture of cleanliness and comfort; one long room is set apart as a breakfast and dining room, with a long table in the centre, covered with a perfectly clean table-cloth, and there was a cheerful fire in the room;

> another and similar room with a good library of gardening and other books and newspapers, is set apart for study and the useful employment of evenings; this is carefully supervised by Mr M'Intosh [sic] and his son. There are two large apartments subdivided into rooms of ample capacity for two beds in each, a bed being appropriated to each man. These rooms, together with beds and linen we carefully inspected. They were in every respect clean and wholesome, and well ventilated. Some may ask, what so minute an account of these rooms have to do with gardening? We answer, everything. The moral character of the men, as well as the preservation of their mental and physical energies, depends on their being well kept.[265]

As the century went on there was a gradual but inexorable improvement. Loudon, who had been campaigning for the provision of libraries, published this report by "Juvenis", in the *Gardener's Magazine* in 1834, following a visit to Woodhall Gardens in Renfrewshire:

> On calling here, on a short tour which I lately made, I was agreeably surprised to find that, in addition to the gardener's lodge or shed, in which with the rest of the young men I cooked my victuals and slept some years ago, a good sized room was built, well lighted, with a good fireplace, and fitted up with writing-desks, tables and bookshelves. There is a lobby between this and the cooking room, so that the noise produced in that room, by those who do not read, is not heard in the reading room. This last circumstance, I consider an important one. A room similar to this at Woodhall is wanted in almost every garden in Scotland.[266]

In the late 1860s and the 1870s significant improvements began finally to be made, when owners started to do away with the back-shed bothies and build substantial two-story buildings to accommodate their young unmarried gardeners. David Fish wrote in 1871:

> We are glad to note that at last the tide of improvements has risen high enough to threaten to sweep away one of the most detestable of all places called a house- the "bothie" for young men, hidden away out of sight in the back-slums of so many gardens.[267]

Fig. 49. The bothy at Belvoir.[268]

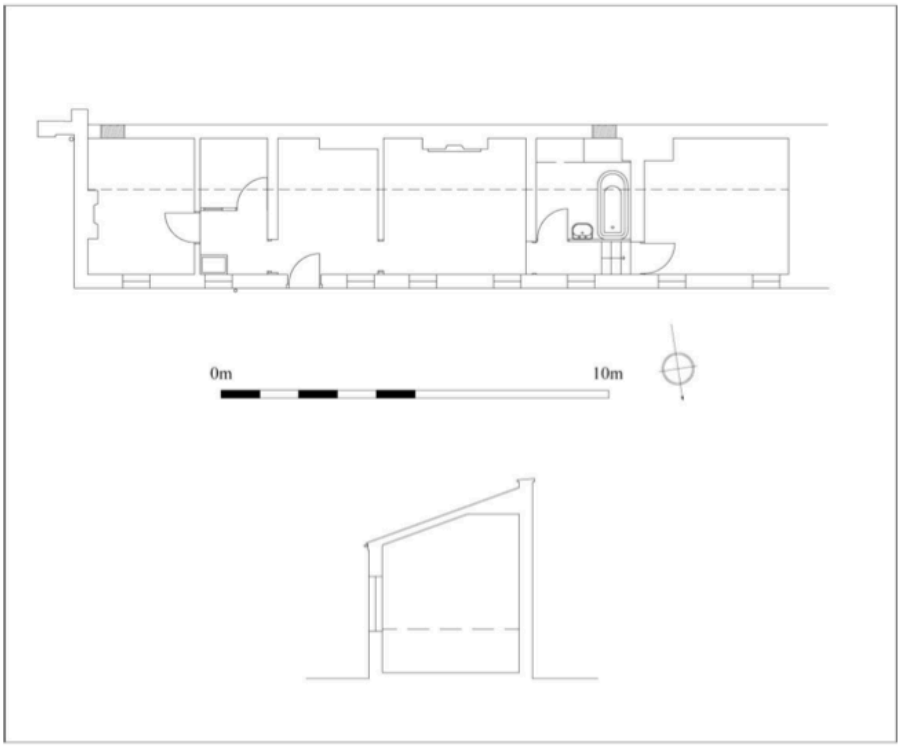


Fig. 50. Plan and section of the bothy at Belvoir (as it was in 2009).[269]

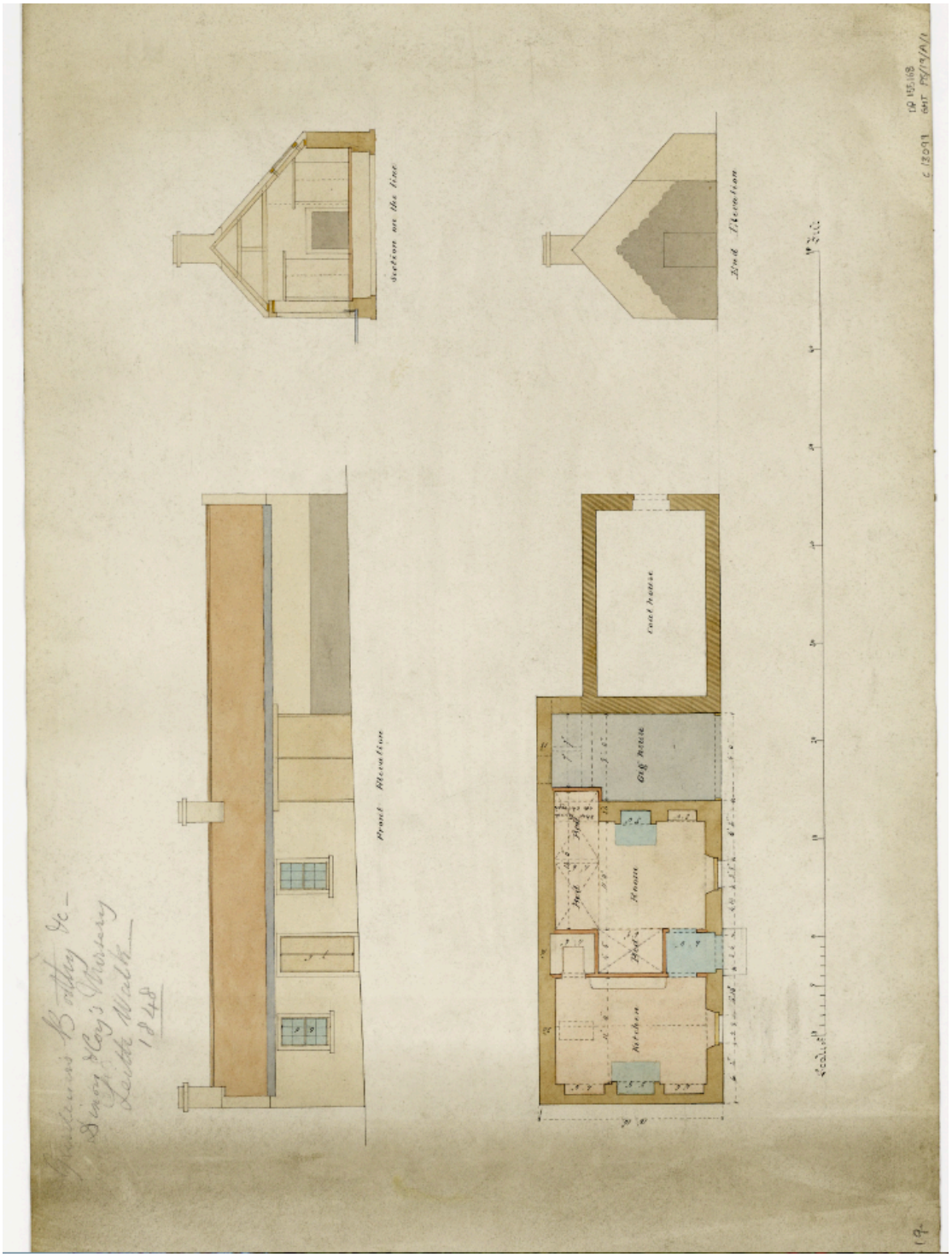


Fig. 51. Plan for a bothy at Leith Walk.

An early example of the trend to which Fish referred is the house built in 1874 at Trentham (Fig. 52) to replace the existing bothies there. Its design fulfilled Loudon's criteria of convenience, utility and beauty. The library ('B' at Fig. 53) was of drawing room dimensions, measuring 28ft by 14ft with fitted bookshelves, fully stocked with books. The dining room was of a similar size. On the ground floor there was also a large kitchen, a larder, and a bathroom, with four wash-basins and a bath. Upstairs there were four bedrooms, each with three or four single beds, the beds being partitioned off, to allow for privacy. A "garden woman" did their cooking, and their laundry was taken care of.

Trentham is by no means an isolated case. A steady succession of purpose-built houses were put up at this time. In 1873 Messrs. Veitch and Sons, a leading nursery in London, had moved thirty of their young men into a large house close to the nursery, which contained a library and news-room, a smoking room and dining room, with bedrooms on the upper floors. A field adjacent to the house was converted into a recreation ground for the men. As was observed at the time, "no expense has been saved to procure for them homely and country-like privileges, a boon which young men unaccustomed to town life cannot fail to appreciate".[270] As Veitch and Sons, like the other nurseries in London, acted as a clearing house for young gardeners looking for positions, their investment was significant, as candidates would be reluctant to move from their state of the art accommodation into a back-shed bothy.

At Wimbledon Park, the well-known garden owned by Henry Peek, a new bothy was built in 1871 for five men, each of whom were given a separate sleeping area and they were provided with two bathrooms (Figs. 54 & 55). New purpose built bothies were erected at Longford Hall, Stretford, Endcliffe Hall, Sheffield, Vintner's Park, Maidstone and Lambton Castle, Durham. At Lambton Castle each man was provided with a "lofty bedroom and bathroom".[271] At Belsfield, Cumbria (page 121 in volume 2), the new bothy was built on an elevated site overlooking the lake and was:

> fitted with the best accommodation, comprising kitchen and back kitchens, mess and sitting rooms, with nice bedrooms on the second flight, where all is furnished in the most comfortable manner, with wardrobes, drawers, beds, bedding, carpets etc., I feel sure

> that nothing has been spared to make everything comfortable for the young men at Belsfield.[272]

The new bothy at Cliveden, built in 1877 was described as: "[Altogether] one of the best and most comfortable bothies it has been our good fortune to see in any garden".[273] And at Park Place, which was rebuilt in French Chateau style by John Noble with gardens laid out by Robert Marnock:

> A picturesque building has been erected for [the young gardeners] with a large, comfortable, sitting room, kitchen, and lavatory lighted with gas, and a separate bed-room is provided for each. Adjoining this is the garden office and Grape room. There is also a garden library, and a botanical class is held here in connection with the Science and Art Department the gardener (Mr Stanton) being one of the Department Science teachers.[274]

Comfortable new bothies were provided at Bicton in Devon, Bagshot Park, Surrey (p. 120 of Volume 2) and Copped Hall, Essex, which was described as containing "every possible accommodation, including bath-rooms".[275] At Oakley Court in Windsor (p. 130 of Volume 2) the bothy was said to be "exceptionally good";[276] which was not surprising as it contained a billiards room. The bothy at Frogmore, (page 124 in volume 2) also contained a billiards hall.[277] At Luton Hoo (Figs. 56 & 57), the enhanced status of the under-gardeners was shown by building them, soon after the turn of the twentieth century, an almost exact replica of the gardener's house which had been built 50 years before. The two buildings face each other flanking the main entrance to the kitchen garden. Sometimes these new structures were designated the under-gardener's house but they were invariably known to their inmates as the bothy, however grand the appearance.

The contrast between these bothies and the one at Leith Road (Fig. 51) could not be more telling. Leith Road was built as a purely utilitarian building, with no regard to style and little account taken of the comfort of its inhabitants. In its day, it had been a world away from the back-shed bothy, but it seems primitive when compared with the late Victorian model. These were the advances which society had made over two generations. But, in fact, each type did not fully replace its predecessor, and they continued to exist side by side until the First

World War, and, indeed, beyond. For some, the misery subsisted, just as it had sixty years before, the difference being that now that there was a greater choice far fewer suffered the discomforts of back-shed bothy life.

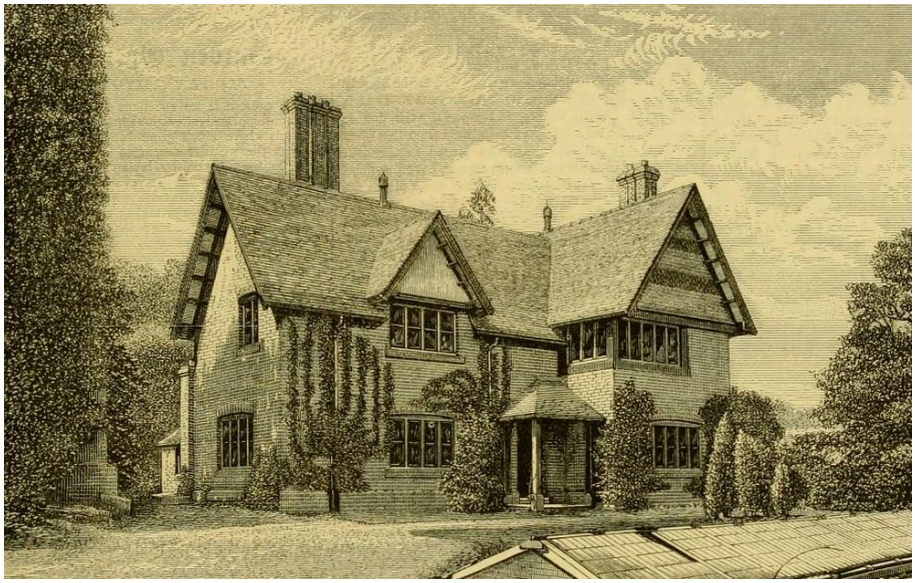


Fig. 52. The bothy at Trentham, described as “a most substantial and commodious residence… an example worthy of being followed by others who desire to have well ordered garden establishments”.[278]

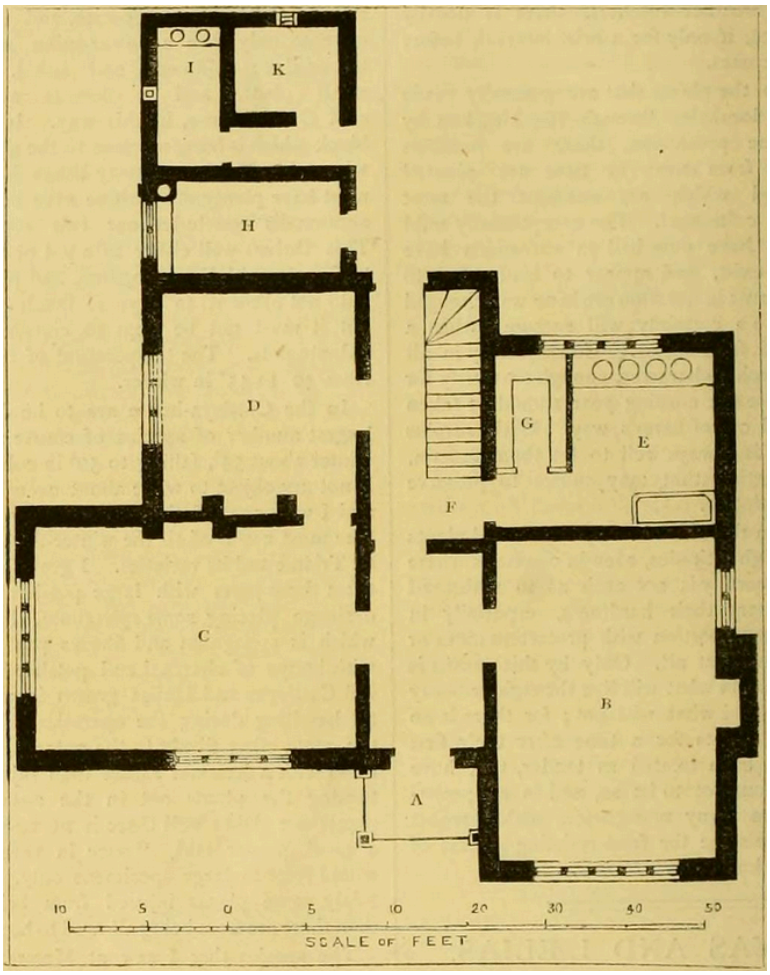


Fig. 53. Ground floor plan of the bothy at Trentham.[279]

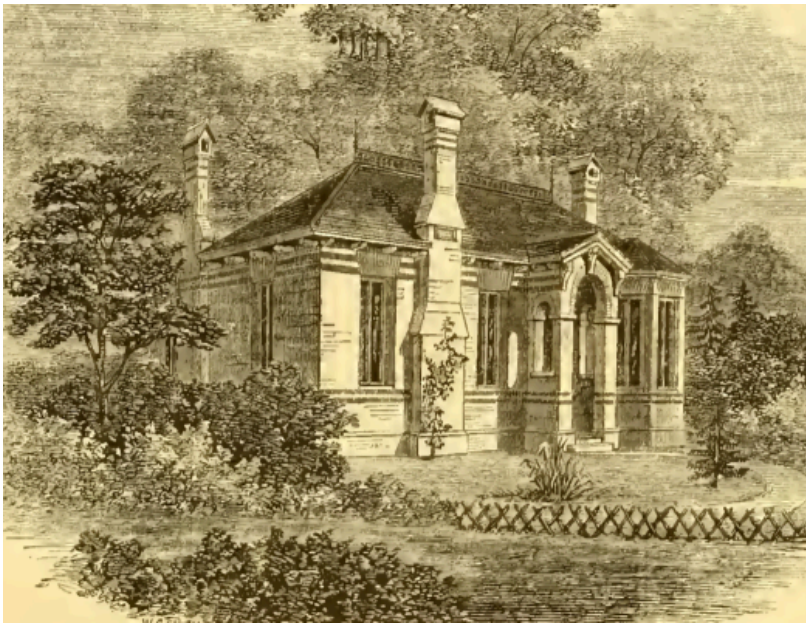


Fig. 54. The bothy at Wimbledon House.[280]

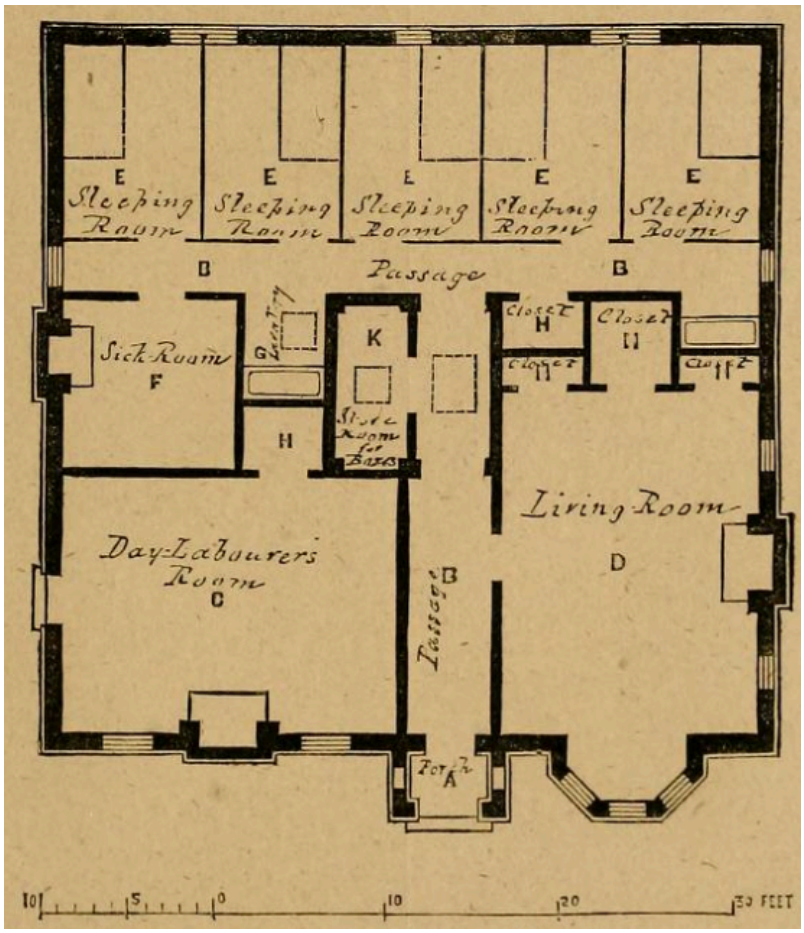


Fig. 55. Plan of the bothy at Wimbledon Park. "One of the most excellent houses for young gardeners we have seen is that in Mr. Peek's gardens at Wimbledon".[281]

Fig. 56. The bothy, Luton Hoo, built in the same style as the head gardener's house (below). [282]

Fig. 57. The head gardener's house, Luton Hoo.[283]

Chapter III. Gardeners' Remuneration

The Head Gardener

In his *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* Loudon wrote that in a first-rate establishment the gardener would expect to receive a wage of between £150 and £300 a year and to live in a rent-free house, with a garden, a stable and a cow-house.[284] He would be provided with a servant, a cow, and a pony and trap. He would also have his own garden and free fuel and vegetables.[285] The stipulated wage of between £150 and £300 remained unchanged throughout every edition of the Encyclopaedia, but the reality seems to have been that the wage was usually between £70 and £150 and only occasionally above £150. In 1866 Joseph Paxton said that there were not more than a hundred gardeners in England earning more than £100 a year.[286] When Paxton was appointed as head gardener at Chatsworth he was paid £65 a year[287] and Thomas Knowlton, his counterpart at Chiswick, (the other estate owned by the Duke of Devonshire) earned £150 a year (his predecessor, Robert Clues received £100 a year).[288] Knowlton's successor, Charles Edmonds, presumably on a similar wage, employed a maidservant and two outdoor servants to work on his own garden, at the expense of the Duke.[289] Paxton's wage subsequently rose to £650 a year and that of the head gardener at Chiswick remained at £150.[290] Paxton's extraordinarily high wage reflected his particular value to the Duke, his additional duties and the renown which he had brought to Chatsworth because of his design of the Great Conservatory (Fig. 2). No other head gardener came close to this figure. More typical wages were those paid to James Brown (1786-1878), the head gardener for the Earl of Southampton at Whittlebury Lodge, Northamptonshire, who in 1839 received £100 a year, payable six months in arrears;[291] or Mr Dawn, the head gardener at Dalkeith House, Midlothian who in 1871 received £120[292] or Harry Thrower, who was paid £100 a year at Horwood House, Buckinghamshire in 1913.[293] In each case the wage would include a free house and benefits. James Brown was entitled to free vegetables and coal; Mr Dawn gas and coal to the value of £2 and an allowance for annual visits to other gardens; Harry Thrower free electricity (from a generator on the estate), vegetables and fruit from the garden and meat and game from the farm.

In some cases on the larger estates the head gardener received a composite sum from which he paid himself, the other gardeners and some of the garden expenses. At Wrest Park (p. 117 of volume 2) the estate accounts show that their head gardener Seward Snow (1794-1869), received quarterly sums in the region of £250-£350, in each case including the value of receipts from the sale of fruit flowers and vegetables produced in the garden (See Appendix V for details for 1857 and 1862).[294]

In the villa, or second-rate establishment, the head gardener would receive a wage of between £50 and £100 a year, plus a rent-free house with garden, and free fuel and vegetables. Jane Loudon had this kind of garden in mind when she wrote:

> The difference in wages between a common gardener, and a man who understands his profession, is commonly about £20 or £30 a year, while for 30s a week [£75 a year], with lodging, a gardener may be obtained who understands the propagation and culture of all ordinary plants and how to keep a garden in good order. Thus those persons who wish to have a show garden, will find the best plan if their grounds are large, to employ a good gardener, and to leave everything to his direction, allowing him to employ labourers as he may think proper.[295]

The standard wage for gardeners in a third rate position was about £50 a year, plus a house rent-free, with fuel and vegetables. This was the position about which there were the loudest complaints regarding the inadequacy of the wage. It was also the least desirable, because, although the title was "head gardener" the reality was often somewhat different.

A typical advertisement (1869) would run:

> Wanted - a respectable married couple - the man will have to look after a Garden, Pony, Cow, etc., the wife will have the laundry work.[296]

This from 1872:

> WANTED a GARDENER and his WIFE, without incumbrance, the former to look after the kitchen garden, greenhouses, also to milk two cows, attend to pigs and poultry, and make himself generally useful, the latter to attend to the lodge gate, must be members of the church of England, and if the man can sing, so much the better.[297]

The phrase "no incumbrance" signified "no children"; a not infrequent stipulation. The firm advice given to gardeners who had ambitions to rise in the profession was to put off marriage for as long as possible. An early marriage would, Loudon suggested, "be the foundation of a life of hard labour, scanty food, and their attendants, bad temper and often disease". His advice was to put off marriage for twenty-five years and then to have only one or two children.[298] Similar advice was given by Thomas Appleby, who wrote "let me beg, nay earnestly entreat all young gardeners that read these lines seriously to consider the consequences of such foolish, I had almost said sinful, [early] marriages". His advice was not to marry until at least twenty eight to thirty years of age, and then to a girl of at least twenty-five.[299]

In the third-rate position the post of head gardener was rarely limited to a role in the garden and, whilst an editorial in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* recognised that he was most inadequately remunerated, the question was asked why they should expect more when "there are so many willing to take service at the lowest rate, and to combine the services of shoeblack, cow-keeper, pig-tender, groom and what-not with those of the gardener".[300]

When head gardeners were looking for a job they would either register with a nursery, which acted as informal employment agencies, or place an advertisement in one of the gardening journals. A gardener who was between positions would often take temporary work at a nursery at a wage which would normally be between 12s and 14s a week, without accommodation. In 1865, when complaints were made about this low wage the leading nurserymen, James Veitch, agreed to pay all "regularly established head gardeners" 15s a week (equating to £39 a year).[301]

Although the great majority of job advertisements did not specify a wage, some did, and an analysis of those which appeared in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* shows that the wage levels were modest and stable until the end of the century, when they fell. In 1844 (the first year in which they appeared, the wage range was from £39 to £80; in 1861 also from £39 to £80, (with one place offered at £100 for a combined position of head gardener and farm bailiff). In 1871 the range

was between £65 and £85; in 1881 between £50 and £85 and in 1891 the top wage offered was £55, with most of the places offered being for under-gardeners at between £36 and £50. No firm conclusions can be drawn from these statistics as no information is available as to the class of garden involved; it seems that the great majority will have been of the second or third class, as the first class gardens had no need to advertise in the journals, as their positions will have been filled through the nurseries.[302]

APPRENTICES

A young person wishing to train as a gardener would serve an apprenticeship, for a period of three years, or sometimes longer if he was under the age of sixteen. In return for a premium (page 109) the apprentice would receive training and would be provided with free accommodation, usually in a bothy, and a nominal wage. A typical starting wage would be 7s a week, with an extra shilling for each of the second and third years.[303] No apprenticeship could continue beyond the age of 21.[304]

JOURNEYMEN

After the completion of his apprenticeship, a young gardener would become a journeyman, with the aim of working, usually for a year at a time, in different gardens, gaining the experience which would enable him to him to apply for the position of a head gardener, for which he would be considered eligible at the age of 25.[305] A journeyman was paid a weekly wage, from which the cost of his board and lodging was deducted. His lodging, depending on his age, might be in the bothy, in the head gardener's house, or as a lodger in an estate cottage. In 1827 journeymen employed at the Royal garden at Kew received 12s a week (£32 2s a year), which was the same rate as was paid by the nurseries in London, from which they had to pay their accommodation and all other living expenses.[306] Loudon commented: "It is hard that these poor fellows should not even have a lodging in addition to their 12s".[307] Loudon took the Duke of Bedford to task for

only paying his journeymen at Woburn Abbey 9s a week, but he was corrected by their head gardener, James Forbes, who said that they were paid between 12s and 18s dependant on status, with free "lodging, milk, vegetables etc.,"[308] He added that ordinary labourers were paid 11s 6d, and had not been paid less than that for the last thirty years, but frequently more.[309] Woburn seems to have been generous in paying their journeymen up to 18s as the norm seems to have been 16s or less. Loudon was sanguine about journeymen receiving a rate of pay which was considerably less than in other trades, because the gardener required skill only, whereas the other trades required the accumulation of capital as well as skill. He wrote:

> The journeyman gardener, after he has been two or three years out of his apprenticeship, mounts at once into the condition of a master and, if he has obtained a first rate situation, he is perhaps as well off at 25 as an industrious journeyman carpenter at 45 because it would probably require that time before the latter could save sufficient money to become a master.[310]

The problem was obtaining that "first rate situation", as his wage would remain permanently low if he was unable to.

FOREMEN

On some of the larger estates the work was divided into divisions, in which case a foreman would be employed, who was answerable to the head gardener. Exceptionally, if unmarried, the foreman might be housed in the bothy, but usually he would lodge with another cottager, or, if married, be provided with a cottage. Foremen's wages were barely above those of a journeyman, from which they had to pay for their own accommodation. In 1872 a "hard-working gardener" wrote:

> Myself and hundreds of self-taught men entered the garden when fourteen years old and from the vegetable boy to the foreman covered a space of twelve years. For six years after that I was honoured with a foreman's duties at the munificent sum of fourteen shillings a week.[311]

Their wages were kept low by the fact that they were next in line for the potentially much more generously remunerated position of head gardener, which placed them in a very weak bargaining position.

LABOURERS

Labourers were employed to carry out unskilled tasks such as digging, weeding and sweeping. On the larger estates they would often be employed as general workmen available to work in several departments, so that a labourer might, at different times of the year, be employed on the home farm, the woodland, or the garden, wherever they were needed most. The labourer received a weekly wage, and if living on the estate would usually pay rent for a cottage or as a lodger. The wage varied dependant on the level of agricultural wages. The table at Appendix I shows the level of wages during each decade between 1800 and 1910. Women would normally receive between one third and one half of an adult's wage and work fewer hours; children would be paid by the day, from 4d to 10d per day dependant on age and ability. An insight into the use of labourers is given in a series of court cases relating the imposition what was known as the servant tax, which applied to domestic servants, including gardeners, but not to labourers. The distinction between gardeners and labourers arose because the tax was an impost on luxuries and was not intended to affect ordinary commerce or agriculture. In 1823 the rate was £1 4d for a single servant rising in stages to £3 16s 6d for each servant above ten.[312] These high rates for large numbers of servants meant that there was a real incentive on the owners of large estates to employ labourers rather than qualified gardeners. The rates were gradually reduced and eventually abolished to be replaced in 1854 by a flat tax of one guinea for a gardener of eighteen or over and half a guinea for the under eighteens.[313] Sir John Hanmer Bt MP received an assessment for his head gardener and two labourers who, he said, he paid weekly at the rate of common agricultural workers in the district and on that basis he argued that he should not be liable for the tax.[314] The court held he was liable. Another case, brought by the Duke of Marlborough, related to a charge for nine under-gardeners, who

worked for William MacMorran, the head gardener at Blenheim Palace.[315] During the proceedings MacMorran disclosed revealing details regarding the arrangements in the garden. His contract with the Duke, which he had entered into in 1842, paid him £260 a year, of which only £60 was in respect of his salary; the remaining £200 was to "keep the grounds in order".[316] He was personally responsible for hiring and paying his ground staff out of this sum. He disclosed that for his sixty-acre garden he employed nine men in the summer, six in the autumn and four in the winter. In addition he employed six boys of from ten to twelve years, at between 4d and 8d a day, dependant on their age. The Duke argued that as he did not directly employ the men (and boys) he should not be liable for the servant tax.[317] The court held otherwise. It is apparent that the contract with his head gardener had been framed so as to exclude liability under the old system, and that there would have been a tacit understanding that MacMorran would be able to make up for his relatively low salary through savings from his annual allocation of £200 for the upkeep of the garden. The rules were clarified by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in October 1855 in a statement to the House of Commons:

> Persons who are regularly employed for a whole year, and who were under the direction of a head gardener, should be regarded as under-gardeners, but that persons who were only casually employed, and who were engaged in such duties as might be performed by common labourers, as for instance, in mowing grass or in keeping gravel walks in order, were not deemed to be under-gardeners.[318]

There was a further change in the law towards the end of the century, when the servant tax was set at the more modest rate of 14s a year. This produced a further spate of litigation, which resulted this time in victories for the employers. In 1899 the Marquis of Bath was summoned at Warminster on a charge of not taking out a licence for twenty of the fifty gardeners he employed at Longleat. He was able to argue successfully that although they were called under-gardeners, they were in fact untrained labourers for whom no license was required.[319] As the magistrate remarked in a similar case brought against the Duke of Bedford: "Just because a worker knows which way up to plant a geranium doesn't make him a gardener".[320]

In the strict hierarchy of the nineteenth century garden, skilled workers were reluctant to do labourers' work. The *Gardeners' Chronicle* reported an instance where, at a large establishment which employed fifty to sixty gardeners, when the head gardener received unexpected notice of the arrival of important visitors and asked young gardeners from the plant and forcing houses to work outside to help to make the garden look tidy they refused to do so, saying it was "labourer's work"; and when they were told that the alternative was to lose their jobs, several chose to leave.[321]

JOSEPH ALLEN

Joseph Allen was employed as a gardening labourer at the age of 35 at Bolton Percy in Yorkshire on a wage of 14s a week.[322] He agreed, in return for payment, to keep a record of his family income and expenditure for a year at the behest of Francis Doyle for his report to the Poor Law Commissioners on Yorkshire and Northumberland.[323] Joseph Allen's meticulous family accounts, for the period from 1 March 1841 to 28 February 1842, form an appendix to the report. They show that he worked six days a week for the entire twelve months. Apart from Sundays he had just two days off, one at Easter and one at Christmas, which were unpaid, so that he worked in total for 310 days in the year.[324] He did not receive any overtime payments or any additions to his weekly wage. His wife Jane worked for 43 weeks for an average of five days a week for the most part at 10d a day but for part of the year at 8d. They had five children, of whom the eldest son, William, aged 10, worked for 42 weeks at 6d a day, except for a period in March and April when he earned 8d. The combined family income came to £50 16s 11d and their expenditure was £48 3s 0d, of which £4 was for the rent for their cottage, payable in two half-yearly instalments.[325] The Allen family lived at subsistence level, with no expenditure on luxuries. The cost of flour to make bread made up 43 per cent of their total expenditure. They purchased a quantity of seed potatoes in the spring, which indicates they must have had a garden or allotment and would almost certainly have grown vegetables and kept a pig. An analysis of their calorific intake by Deborah Oxley shows that without the

additional sustenance provided by their garden they would have been at the very bottom of the dietary range with barely sufficient calories to be able to do a full day's work.[326]

THE WAGES OF THE GARDENER IN COMPARISON WITH THE INDOOR STAFF AND OTHER WORKERS

A forerunner to Mrs Beeton's *Book of Household Management*, entitled *Practical Estimates of Household Expenses*, published in 1823 gave details of the sums which would normally be paid to servants in households of different sizes.[327] In a moderate sized estate with 24 servants in all, it was calculated, in 1827, that the butler's wage would be £48 a year, the housekeeper £24 a year, and the head gardener £60.[328] Mrs Beeton in 1906 calculated the head gardener's wage at £70-£120, the butler's at £55-£90 and the housekeeper's at £30-60. The only two members of the domestic staff whose wage might come to more than £100 were the house steward at £60-£100 and the head gamekeeper at £100-£150. There were substantial variations on these figures as wages tended to vary considerably from estate to estate. At Chatsworth the head housekeeper Hannah Gregory, who was the aunt of Joseph Paxton's wife Sarah, received the same wage of £20 a year during forty years of service, whilst Paxton's wage increased tenfold.[329] The indoor servants received accommodation and full board, and some had opportunities to enhance their income through the receipt of tips and through the practices described on page 119 but it was apparent that their wages fell behind, in relation to the head gardener, during the nineteenth century.

The fact that gardeners received wages as good or better than the indoor staff is evident from the fact that, from the 1830's onwards, they ceased to complain in the gardening journals about any differential, but there were frequent adverse comparisons with the wages of other trades. A comparison in 1865 showed that while the wages of a head gardener rarely exceeded 25s a week (£65 a year) ordinary "mechanics", such as bricklayers, carpenters and plumbers received 6s 3d a day, for a ten hour day, which equated to £1 18s a week, or £99 a year. At

the same date labourers received 3s 9d a day, which equated to £58 a year.[330] This analysis is flawed because it does not take into account the fact that the head gardener enjoyed free accommodation and the substantial benefits which went with it, which will have gone some way to make up for or eliminate the difference.

WORKING HOURS AND HOLIDAYS

Hours of work and holidays are an integral part of an employee's remuneration. As a rule, the working week for gardeners was six days, Monday to Saturday, and the normal working day ten and a half hours; 6am to 6pm, with a half hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner.[331] In winter, the hours would be from sunrise to sunset. In summer, in the days when lawns were cut by scythe, work for the grass-cutters would begin at 4.30am to take advantage of the dew. In the north of England work on a Saturday would finish at 4 pm.[332] There would be small variations from garden to garden. At Putteridge Bury the gardeners working for Robert Fish worked a ten-hour day, with an hour allowed for breakfast.[333] These long hours remained unchanged throughout the Victorian and Edwardian periods even though a nine-hour day was becoming commonplace in other occupations, with a half-day holiday on Saturday. There was however, from the 1890s onwards a move to reduce working hours on a Saturday. William Bardney, head gardener at Osmaston Hall in Derbyshire reported in 1896 that in his garden, for the past six years, they had adopted a policy of finishing at mid-day on a Saturday, leaving 2 men on duty on a Saturday afternoon and Sunday in rotation.[334] At Merstham House the gardeners played cricket every Saturday afternoon in the summer. But most establishments maintained the policy of working until 4pm or 5pm on a Saturday. 'S' from South Yorkshire complaining, "we are still classed as domestic servants, and until that stigma is removed some gentlemen will doubtless consider that his housemaid or groom has as much right to the half-holiday as the gardener".[335]

The policy regarding holidays varied from place to place, but usually paid holidays were a privilege allowed only to the head gardener. Robert Fish,

writing in 1863, thought it would be permissible for a head gardener to ask for the occasional day away, and a holiday of five or six days at the most once a year, but more properly once every two or three years.[336] He wrote, "I have seldom known or heard of holidays being deducted from wages" and added that a small "douceur" often accompanied the leave of absence as well as the payment of wages.[337] The experience of William Cresswell (1852-1930), who kept a diary of his gardening activities for three years between 1873 and 1875 when he was an under-gardener in his early twenties, was that his employers seemed to be relaxed about him taking time off. Whilst working at Elm Lodge in Streatham, he had three separate days off, during the week, for excursions with his fiancée.[338] In his next job at Audley End where he was paid 16s a week and lived in the bothy, he did not in his nine months working there have any holidays, but he spent several days at flower shows assisting the head gardener,[339] and received full pay for a day playing cricket in a match between House and Stables.[340] Another gardening diarist, Robert Aughtie, (see page 48) had three extended breaks in his first year of employment at Chatsworth. In May 1848 he was allowed 10 days' compassionate leave; then in September he spent a week touring gardens and in October he was absent for a further fortnight on a tour of Ireland.[341] There is no record of whether he received pay during these periods of leave. All the gardeners at Chatsworth were given a day off on full pay on 4 October 1849 on condition that they went to church, on a day appointed by the Bishop of Lichfield as a "day of humiliation and prayer".[342]

By the early twentieth century most trades had negotiated a shorter working week and regular paid holidays, but gardeners continued to work 10 or 10.5 hours a day six days a week, with very few exceptions. At Clouds, in 1911, George Wyndham, who had inherited the estate after the death of his father, was surprised to find the house steward, William Mallett, working on the panelling in the chapel one Saturday. On being told that all his employees worked a six-day week he arranged for them all to be given 10 days' paid holiday a year.[343]

Joseph's Paxton's relaxed attitude in allowing his under-gardeners time off for holidays should not imply that there was lax discipline at Chatsworth. Another under-gardener, James White, recorded the strict system of fines which were

imposed at Chatsworth, as at other large estates. A 2s fine was imposed for being absent without permission; a 6d fine for a variety of offences including being late, slacking or breaking a pane of glass. A gardener caught stealing fruit was fined 5s.[344]

OVERTIME

There were no decided customs regarding payment for working overtime or on a Sunday. In some places, such as Chatsworth, under-gardeners or apprentices who worked on a Sunday were given time off in lieu.[345] "A Head Gardener" writing in 1879 recorded that his men were engaged on the understanding that they must work extra time if required, but that they would receive 1d or 2d more than the usual rate when they did so. "The extra pay is worth a new coat to some of them", he wrote.[346] William Cresswell, when working at Audley End, received an extra 6d for working after 6pm on a Saturday.[347] On the other hand, in 1896 "GHH" wrote "I am acquainted with many places where men are obliged to be on duty all day Sunday without any thought being given to extra pay".[348] In another, the men were required to ask permission to leave work at the end of their shift and would be dismissed if they failed to do so, or to work extra hours, for which they would not be paid.[349] Perhaps the most common system was that practiced by William Bardney at Osmaston Hall of giving time back in lieu:

> When we work overtime it is on the whole to pull up for the time lost on the part of the men… I have always practiced giving the men an hour or two, a day, a few days or a week, as the case may be when they ask for it. Time comes when men require these favours and I find when granted the men willingly make up their lost time. I have known men desire to get up earlier in the morning, work at dinner time or after tea to push on the work when they require a day or two. I admire this "give and take" business.[350]

GARDENERS' UNIONS

An issue which was frequently raised amongst gardeners was the possibility of forming an association or union to represent their interests with the aim of achieving higher wages. In 1858 "AB" wrote:

> So long as the supply of gardeners is beyond the demand, so long will wages be low. It is true that a vast number of people, unfit for any occupation, put on a blue apron, shoulder a spade and call themselves gardeners, and feed the demand of little suburban villages. Why don't real gardeners bestir themselves and revive the Gardeners' Corporation? Or why do they not form themselves into an Association for granting certificates of competency to persons professing to be gardeners?[351]

The Gardeners' Corporation, to which "AB" alluded, was the Worshipful Company of Gardeners which had been incorporated by Royal Charter in 1605[352] in response to the threat deemed to be posed to existing businesses by the number of Scots setting up nurseries in London.[353] Parliament gave the Company the power to institute an apprenticeship system, which would have restricted the supply of gardeners, and given them the bargaining power they cherished.[354] However, the trade proved too disparate, the rules were not enforced and they fell into disuse. Several attempts were made in the 19th century to revive them, without success. In 1872 a well attended meeting in Bristol organised by George Webley, led to the formation of a Gardeners' Union, for the purpose of agitating for higher wages, but in their very first resolution they stated that they disapproved of and discountenanced strikes, in the knowledge that if they did otherwise they would not gain support in this deeply conservative profession.[355] Thus, toothless, they had no impact at all on the level of gardener's wages. Their attitude to strikes may have been influenced by a strike of workers employed in market gardens in London the previous year.[356] There, the men received 15s a week, the women 7s to 8s in summer and 6s in winter. They were demanding an increase in wages of 2s a week. The strikers were belligerent and destroyed one nursery, causing £300 to £400 of damage. However the strike was not a success and is the only recorded instance of concerted action by gardeners.[357]

RUSKIN AND THE "JUST WAGE"

> That gardeners in the best sense of the term, not mere garden labourers, are underpaid is undeniable. It is equally undeniable that their attainments, and the multifarious requirements expected from them, are such as to entitle them to a higher rate of payment, to a better class of residence, and to a higher position altogether than they generally get.[358]

These words, from an editorial in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* in 1866 provoked David Fish into writing a series of articles in which he analysed why wages were so low.[359] He started with the premise that whenever a good position was advertised thirty, fifty or a hundred men would apply, so that even though the position was worth £120 a year, some gardeners, not necessarily the best, would be wiling to accept £70, so that the market rate was set at £50 less than it should be. This, as Fish readily conceded, fully complied with the laws of economics, as set out by Adam Smith. Fish argued that this was inequitable, and he called in aid the views of John Ruskin and John Stuart Mill in support of his argument. Ruskin said we should not be ruled by the laws of supply and demand but "by reference to the great laws of reciprocal obligation and the principles of eternal rectitude".[360] Ruskin called this a "just wage" which would come about, he said, by curtailing "the unseen and collateral power, both of Wealth, as the lady of pleasure, and of Capital as the lord of toil". Turning to J. S. Mill, Fish acknowledged that Mill accepted that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* contained the best exposition yet on the subject, but pointed to certain factors which would entitle a worker to a higher wage. He wrote:

> If an artisan must work several years at learning his trade before he can earn anything, and several years more before becoming sufficiently skilful for its finer operations, he must have a prospect of at last earning enough to pay the wages of all the past labour, with compensation for the delay of payment, and an indemnity for the expense of his education.[361]

Fish argued that the long period of training, as an apprentice and journeyman, and the education required to succeed as a master gardener, fully justified the enhancement of wages to which Mill referred. Above all, he argued, the labour of gardeners is productive labour which "tends to life and the pleasurable enjoyment of existence" and should be paid as such.[362] Mill drew a distinction

between the men employed to lay our pleasure grounds and those who manufacture velvet, because the employment of gardeners is a demand for labour and the purchase of velvet is not. Ruskin said:

> As far as the pockets of men are concerned it makes absolutely no difference whether we order him to make green velvet with seed and scythe, or red velvet with silk and scissors. Either may be looked upon as luxuries rather than utilities: but, nevertheless, the labour that produced both is productive labour and should be paid for as such.[363]

Even though, as Fish argued, gardeners were entitled to higher wages because of the productive nature of their labour, the level of wages was kept down by what he categorised as the pernicious effect of "extras". He excluded the rent-free house and the benefits which came with the house from this category, also apprentice fees, but referred to "such things as gratuities, disposal of surplus stock, prize money and percentages".[364] Employers put a notional value on all these benefits, he said, which kept the monetary value of wages lower than they otherwise would be, even though most gardeners did not benefit from them, and some were only taken by the unscrupulous.

A reply to David Fish's arguments was given by Sir Wentworth Dilke at the annual dinner of the Gardeners' Royal Benevolent Institution on 27 June 1866.[365] He agreed that gardeners were a badly paid class of workers but thought that Fish's arguments were invalid because gardeners' pay was determined by the laws of supply and demand, and wages would always be lower than they might be if there was a continual excessive supply.[366] There was a market rate for head gardeners he opined and those in lower positions, and employers did not accept that they should pay more than the going rate. On this basis Ruskin's call for a "just wage" was bound to fail.

David Fish was reticent about the wage which he received, but he hinted that it may have been modest when he protested, in 1867, against the suggestion that head gardeners should make a contribution of one guinea a year to the Gardeners' Benevolent Association:

> With a family [he had three girls] it is utterly impossible at the present rate of wages to make provision for the future. I have held situations better than average and have lived

> with the best of employers for the last twenty years and find it utterly impossible to save money out of my salary.[367]

David Fish's frequent diatribes against the poor wages of gardeners elicited enthusiastic support from some of the most influential names in the gardening world. Shirley Hibberd wrote:

> Bravely and boldly does Mr Fish confront this melancholy fact, that talent in gardening, in common with talent everywhere, is miserably underpaid.[368]

And George Glenny, another prolific magazine editor, and one of the founders of the Gardeners' Benevolent Association, wrote:

> Mr Fish very ably exposed the evil which hangs like a cloud over the whole profession, and deters thousands of intellectual men from joining it; the miserably poor prospect of obtaining even decent wages.[369]

Chapter IV: The Benefits in Kind of the Head Gardener

The Benefit of the Accommodation

The head gardener's house was provided rent-free with no liability on the part of the gardener to pay for upkeep or repairs.[370] Benefits which came with the house would normally include free fuel (either coal or wood, as appropriate), candles, and vegetables. With the house came a garden, a cow and one or two sows. The combined value of these benefits in kind was not insubstantial.

A typical head gardener's house with four bedrooms would have a rental value of £12 10s a year, assuming a value of £250 at 5%.[371] The value of a cow consisted in the supply of milk, butter and cheese, which was estimated to be worth £7 a year. To this should be added the value of the calf, which a milking cow must perforce produce every year, of £3.[372] A pig will produce 26 stones of bacon which is worth £9 2s at 7s a stone. Coal, candles and vegetables would add another £5.[373] Thus the benefit in kind of the head gardener arising from his free accommodation amounted to about £36 10s a year.

FURNITURE

It was the almost invariable practice for head gardener's houses to be unfurnished. The gardener would bring his own furniture with him, at his own expense. This sometimes created a hardship for the gardener, if he did not own enough furniture to furnish the house. The somewhat anomalous position arose that gardeners were warned against accepting a position where the house was too large for them to furnish properly. In 1861 a correspondent wrote:

> I know a gardener's cottage that cost more than £800, and the wages of the gardener are £70! How can a man with a family prudently furnish and keep such a house on such an income? I find that this furnishing of a house, and gentlemen expecting it to be respectably furnished, on less wages than the above, is becoming a fruitful source of annoyance.[374]

Loudon argued strongly for a change in the custom. He wrote:

> Certain cupboards and other fixtures belong to the house and therefore cost the incoming occupier nothing: but we would strongly recommend to such gardeners as have it in their power to introduce the custom of having all the principal articles of furniture, such as tables, chairs, chests of drawers, bedsteads and bedding, considered as belonging to the house, to be taken by every occupant, from his master at a valuation, on entering, and taken from him on leaving.[375]

APPRENTICESHIP AND JOURNEYMEN'S FEES

Apprenticeship fees were a legitimate source of additional income for a head gardener. The apprentice would usually pay a fee which was usually between £3 and £5 but could be as high as £15 per annum in return for which the head gardener would provide him with training.[376] As there was no formal system the extent and nature of the training was entirely up to the head gardener. The system was open to abuse in several ways.[377] John Bowlby of Eccleshill Hall in Leeds complained that the head gardener on being appointed dismissed experienced under-gardeners and replaced them with apprentices. "I am also aware that the gardener is getting a nice thing out of those youths in premiums".[378] A head gardener in Scotland was criticised for employing four

apprentices at a time, and extracting five or six pounds from each of them.[379] Concern was expressed that apprentices were being exploited:

> Some gardens, which are celebrated for their extent, superiority of management or for the ability or character of their superintendent are those into which young men are anxious to gain admittance; but before they can obtain this advantage, they must submit to bribe the master by a douceur of a sum beyond their ability to pay.[380]

Some head gardeners further exploited the system by extracting a fee from journeymen. This was done in two ways. The first was by asking for a premium as a condition of being given the job, as described by "Ephebicus Horticultor":

> There is a gardener of celebrity in the horticultural world who, like too many others, extorts £10 from every journeyman he employs, aside from ability and qualifications.[381]

The practice was particularly rife when jobs were hard to come by:

> From the superabundance of hands, not only is there a difficulty in obtaining a journeyman's situation, but the practice is becoming common of shutting the gates of extensive establishments upon those who are either unable or unwilling to pay a premium to the master.[382]

The second method was to take a weekly slice of the journeyman's salary. This involved a direct fraud upon the employer. A newly employed journeyman in the north of England accepted a position at 11s a week and was surprised to receive 12s 6d in his wage packet, of which 1s, he was informed, had to be paid to the head gardener. He was told: "It was a fashion of the place for the gardener to get a shilling a week off his men and those who did not like it could hook it".[383] A gardener in Preston told how a head gardener took both a premium of £3 and a slice of the wages from all his men; those working outside paid 1s 6d a week from a wage of 11s and those in the hot-houses paid 2s a week from a wage of 12s.[384]

DISCOUNTS

> This school for scandal or nest of artful dodgers - David Fish[385]

It was the almost invariable practice throughout the nineteenth century for head gardeners to be given a percentage of all orders from nurseries and seedsmen. This was called variously a "discount", "privilege", "percentage" or "douceur".[386] The minimum, and most usual amount, was 5%, but there are reports of nurserymen offering as much as 12.5% or even 20% to entice new clients.[387] 25% was also offered to gardeners on the value of a new glasshouse.[388] This could be a substantial source of income to the gardener. It was estimated that it would cost £400 to £500 simply to fill the beds of an ordinary flower garden if the plants were bought from a nursery.[389] But the sums could be much larger. Mr Lee of the Hammersmith nursery said that the Marquis of Blandford's bill for plants was £15,000.[390] In the case of Williams v. Leslie (see page 119) the gardener spent £3,000 a year without the owner's consent from which he stood to gain £150, at least equivalent to his annual salary.[391]

The practice was routinely condemned in the gardening journals. In 1866 Shirley Hibberd wrote:

> It is an important question whether the giving of percentages by the trade, or in other words admitting gardeners to a share of the profits is a proper thing and should be winked at, or properly condemned. It will perhaps shock the feelings of a considerable number of our supporters when we say that we consider these percentages very objectionable, and hope the day is at hand when the trade will agree to abolish them for ever.[392]

In support of Hibberd's campaign Messrs Drummond Bros. of Edinburgh announced their resolve to give no more percentages to employees, but no other nursery followed their lead.[393] To make the legal position absolutely clear, the *Gardeners' Chronicle* published a letter from a barrister at Lincoln's Inn stating that any gardener or person occupying a position of trust was liable to account for and pay over all commission or other profit received by them in the conduct of their employer's affairs.[394] But the practice seems to have been almost universally followed; one nursery said that of their 4,000 customers only a handful declined to accept the discount.[395] Nurseries openly advertised their

percentage discount in their advertisements in the gardening press.[396] As these advertisements will have been seen by owners as well as gardeners, it is clear that employers turned a blind eye to the practice. However, the enactment of the Prevention of Corruption Bill in 1906 made the receipt of discounts which were not approved by the owner a criminal offence.[397] The Horticultural Trades Association sought the advice of King's Counsel on the effect of the new Act and they were informed that the taking of all commissions, even a Christmas box or hospitality was now illegal.[398] In 1910 a test case was brought by a body calling themselves the Secret Commissions and Bribery Prevention League against the firm of Messrs. Cutbush who had allegedly given a case of whiskey to Charles Kidd, who was the head gardener at Huntroyde, in Lancashire, under the employ of Capt. Starke. An ex-employee of Messrs Cutbush gave evidence that it was well known in the office that all deliveries of "Cutbush's insecticide" were in fact of whisky, of which hundreds of unmarked cases were sent from Edinburgh for delivery to head gardeners each year. In this case it was proven that the deliveries of Cutbush's insecticide were genuine, but Mr Kidd freely admitted to receiving the whisky. The presiding Judge, in his summing up to the jury, said that this was as near to corruption as it could possibly be, and that this was the very kind of practice which the Act had been intended to stop. The jury thought otherwise, and after only a few moments' deliberation brought in a verdict of not guilty.[399] No further attempts were made by the Secret Commissions and Bribery Prevention League to prosecute a head gardener for receiving a Christmas box. The absence of any further public reference to the payment of discounts suggests that the practice, which undoubtedly continued, was conducted very much under the counter.

PRIZE MONEY

> Now we have the flower show fever - in fact it has become so contagious that we cannot enter a village or hamlet - we won't write of towns- but the first thing that generally catches the eye is a large bill intimating in glowing terms that a grand flower show is to be held there in a few days, and such and such a brass band will be in attendance.[400]
> - W F Bowman, Leybourne Grange. November 7th 1874

In 1877, when the Manchester Horticultural Society celebrated their 50th anniversary, they calculated that they had given away £40,000 in prize money.[401] They held their annual show at Whitsun, when the factory workers had a holiday, and attracted an average of thirty thousand visitors a year. The generous prize money encouraged exhibitors to enter the most impressive displays of flowers and fruit, which in turn brought in the crowds. Nurseries competed with one another to offer the greatest rewards, Messrs' Carter and Sutton for vegetables, Mr Bull's for plants and Messrs' Veitch for fruit.[402] The full page advertisement (Fig. 57) placed by Mr Bull is typical of its kind. The large regional shows routinely offered more than £1,000 in prize money. The Bath Exhibition of 1873 gave prizes worth £1,800;[403] the Midland Counties of 1874, £1,210.[404] The competition became so great that in 1875 the RHS found itself unable to meet its obligations and their treasurer declared:

> We owe for prizes £1,400 and, if I were to pay these rabid prize-men, we should come to a dead stand. I would rather cut my hand off than sign a cheque to pay these prizes.[405]

But there was no diminution in the vogue for prize-giving. In the year of the RHS's financial difficulties the horticultural shows at Manchester and Dundee both offered £1,000 in prize money.[406] Six years later Manchester was offering £2,000.[407] Nor were competitions confined to the large regional shows. In 1875 John Wills predicted a day "when a flower show will be held in every village in the kingdom".[408]

Shirley Hibberd wrote:

> In the Horticultural Directory about 300 societies were described, but there must be thousands. A large proportion were all round societies, representing horticulture generally; but there were societies that took special cognizance of auriculas, tulips, pansies, pinks, pelargoniums, roses and other flowers and even celery, parsnips,

> cucumbers, gooseberries and rhubarb were not forgotten. It was one of the most enjoyable things in the world to assist at a gooseberry meeting and see the berries weighed with as much care as if they were nuggets of gold.[409]

The "rabid prize men" referred to by the treasurer of the RHS were in the main the head gardeners. They were the main beneficiaries of the Society's largesse. Typically a first prize would be £25, second £18 and third £12.[410] Head gardeners were not eligible for all the prizes, as there were separate categories for nurserymen and amateurs, but they got the majority.

The first letter which Joseph Paxton received from the Duke of Devonshire was to congratulate him on winning a prize in the Sheffield Horticultural Show of 1831. The Duke was happy to give the credit to Paxton, and to let him keep the prize money even though the exhibit belonged to him and had been grown at his expense.[411] The tradition had arisen that the prize money belonged to the gardener, not the owner. When, in 1864, someone writing under the pseudonym "Florist" wrote to the *Gardeners' Chronicle* suggesting that the system of allocating prize money to the gardeners and not to the owners was injurious to floriculture, and that the owner should be named as the winner, not the gardener, the magazine received a deluge of mail arguing to the contrary.[412]

William Robinson wrote:

> I have observed many gentlemen delighted and loquacious about "my gardener's" success. The prizes are given for excellence of culture and in nineteen cases out of twenty that excellence is the result of the gardener's skill and brains, it is not just, it is not honourable, it is hardly honest to deprive him of the merit which attaches to victory.[413]

"Vindex", writing as an owner who had in the past put his own name on an exhibit, but had desisted, wrote:

> My own gardener is content with this; he enjoys the trip free of expense to the exhibition, with his day or two's holiday, and the opportunity of seeing the specimens exhibited by the competitors. But finding myself almost alone in putting my name first, I have fallen in with the prevalent custom.[414]

Thus the practice arose that whether exhibits were entered in the name of the gardener or the owner, the gardener kept the prize money. Any doubt which may

have remained as to whom the prize money belonged to, was dispelled by the case of Hardisty v. Tock, heard in Selby County Court in 1873.[415] James Tock, of Drax Abbey in Selby found himself obliged to dismiss his gardener Hardisty, after only a few weeks of service. Hardisty calculated that he was owed £2 6s 8d in unpaid wages, but Tock refused to pay, saying that his gardener should account to him for £5 won in prize money during his brief period of employment. When Hardisty took his claim to court, Judge Smith ruled in his favour, saying he had always understood that prize money was one of the perquisites of the gardener.[416]

The fear was expressed by Donald Beaton that the horticultural shows encouraged "purse-gardening" by giving unfair preference to the wealthy who could afford large-scale greenhouse cultivation, which was undoubtedly true, but some of the most impressive winners came from the less well known places.[417] William Barnes, who retired as head gardener at The Poles, Hertfordshire, in 1851 won more than 800 prizes at the metropolitan shows over a period of 18 years.[418] George Mileham of Emlyn House, Leatherhead, a Chrysanthemum specialist, was the winner of 131 first prizes, 100 second and 25 thirds.[419] W. Hammond of "Trueloves", Ingateston, working for Mrs Carr, took 250 prizes in ten years in the country and local shows, with a staff of four.[420] The monetary value of these prizes was impressive. Assuming an average prize at the modest level of £5, Mileham and Hammond will each have won more than £1,000. But perhaps the biggest prize winner was Charles Ross FRHS, of Welford Park in Newbury. In 1905, at the age of 80, after 44 years in charge of the gardens at Welford Park he claimed to have won more than 1,200 prizes.[421]

The policy of giving generous prizes continued in the Edwardian period. In 1903 Patrick Weathers, the curator of the Manchester Botanical Gardens, where the Manchester Horticultural Society shows were held, estimated that the society had given £100,000 in prize money alone.[422]

PRIZES FOR NEW PLANTS.

WILLIAM BULL, F.L.S.,

Having offered through the Royal Horticultural Society numerous valuable Special Prizes, amounting to upwards of

ONE THOUSAND POUNDS FOR NEW PLANTS

Of his own introduction, begs to announce that Twelve Silver Cups and Money Prizes, as follows (the Sixth Annual Series), will be awarded at the Royal Horticultural Society's Great Summer Show, to be held at Kensington May 28 to 31. Entries should be sent to Mr. Barron on or before Friday, May 24. Particulars of these Prizes are given in the Schedule of the Royal Horticultural Society, which can be had on application at South Kensington, and at pages 167 to 171 of Mr. William Bull's Catalogue of New Plants. A dozen Silver Cups and Money Prizes will also be given at the Royal Horticultural Society's Show, to be held at Preston, July 10. The Prizes to be awarded on May 28 will be as follows:—

FOR PRIVATE GROWERS.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 15 Guineas
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 10 Guineas
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 6 Guineas

FOR NURSERYMEN.

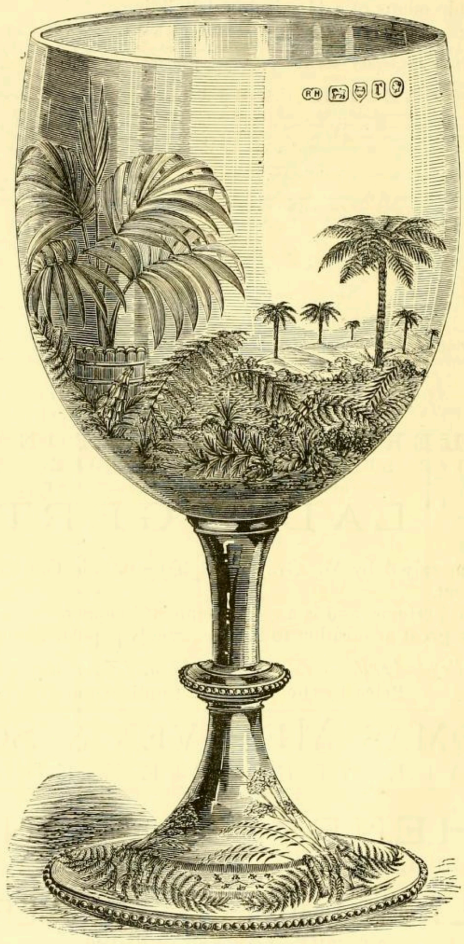
1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 15 Guineas
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 10 Guineas
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. 6 Guineas

In each and all cases the above Prizes are offered for Twelve New Plants of Mr. W. Bull's introduction, and sent out since the commencement of 1875. The Plants available for these Prizes to comprise only those announced in Mr. W. Bull's Catalogues, as sent out by him for the first time. The Catalogues can be easily referred to, or a List of the Plants had on application.

In each and every entry the names of the Twelve Plants to be exhibited must be sent with the entry. Exhibitors can only compete for one Prize at a time in each class.

The Twelve Plants must be twelve distinct species or varieties, but each may be composed of one or more individual plants, if grouped in one pot, pan, or vase.

Any Exhibitor winning either of the above Prizes, and having previously won two of Mr. William Bull's Silver Cups, can have Money instead of the Cup if preferred.



PRIZE CUP.
Specially Designed by Messrs. Elkington & Co., to be awarded for Mr. William Bull's New Introductions.

A SERIES OF SILVER CUPS,
and Money Prizes,

as follows, will be given to those not having previously won any of

MR. WM. BULL'S SILVER CUPS:

FOR PRIVATE GROWERS.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value 15 Gs., and £10
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value 10 Gs., and £7
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value 6 Gs., and £5

FOR NURSERYMEN.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value 15 Gs., and £10
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value 10 Gs., and £7
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value 6 Gs., and £5

In each and all cases the above Prizes are offered for Twelve New Plants of Mr. W. Bull's introduction, and sent out since the commencement of 1875. The Plants available for these Prizes to comprise only those announced in Mr. W. Bull's Catalogues, as sent out by him for the first time. The Catalogues can be easily referred to, or a List of the Plants had on application.

In each and every entry the names of the Twelve Plants to be exhibited must be sent with the entry. Exhibitors can only compete for one Prize at a time in each class.

The Twelve Plants must be twelve distinct species or varieties, but each may be composed of one or more individual plants, if grouped in one pot, pan, or vase.

Mr. William Bull will also give the following PRIZES this year, for 12 NEW PLANTS of his introduction, sent out since the commencement of 1875:—

At the International Horticultural Exhibition to be held in Ghent, Belgium, March 31 to April 7, 1878.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 15 Guineas
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 10 Guineas
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 6 Guineas

The above Prizes are confined to Belgian Exhibitors.

At the Great Provincial Show of the Royal Horticultural Society, to be held at Preston, July 10 to 13, 1878.

For Private Growers.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 15 Guineas
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 10 Guineas
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 6 Guineas

For Nurserymen

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 15 Guineas
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 10 Guineas
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. .. 6 Guineas

Any Exhibitor winning either of the above Prizes, and having previously won two of Mr. William Bull's Silver Cups, can have money instead of the Cup, if preferred.

The following Prizes are offered to those not having previously won any of Mr. William Bull's Silver Cups:—

For Private Growers.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 15 Guineas, and £10
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 10 Guineas, and £7
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 6 Guineas, and £5

For Nurserymen.

1st Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 15 Guineas, and £10
2d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 10 Guineas, and £7
3d Prize, a Silver Cup, value .. .. 6 Guineas, and £5

In each and all cases the above Prizes to be offered for Twelve New Plants of Mr. W. Bull's introduction, and sent out since the commencement of 1875. The Plants available for these Prizes to comprise only those announced in Mr. W. Bull's Catalogues as sent out by him for the first time. The Catalogues can easily be referred to, or a List of the Plants had on application. In each and every entry, the names of the Twelve Plants to be exhibited must be sent with the entry. Exhibitors can only compete for one Prize at a time. The Twelve Plants must be twelve distinct species or varieties, but each may be composed of one or more individual plants, if grouped in one pot, pan, or vase.

ESTABLISHMENT for NEW and RARE PLANTS, KING'S ROAD, CHELSEA, LONDON, S.W.

Fig. 58. Mr Bull's prize cup.[423]

Fig. 59. Mr M. E. Mills of Coombe House, London.[424]

Fig. 60. Some of the prize cups won by Mr W Mease, of Downside, Surrey.[425]

PROFIT FROM THE SALE OF PRODUCE

> He is to have all the fruits and herbages for his own profit, saving only what is required for the household, but is to manure and work the garden at his own cost and charges and provide all things needful for its due cultivation. For wages, the sum of two pence each day.
>
> -Extract from the contract issued by John of Gaunt to Nichol Gardiner (nostre gardyner), 1372[426]

There was an early tradition that gardeners were allowed to sell the produce of a garden for their own profit. Philip Miller, at the Chelsea Physic garden whose contract allowed him to sell produce from the garden, complained, in his letter of resignation at the age of 70, that he was unable to make a profit from the garden.[427] This tradition had all but expired by the nineteenth century, but gardeners were still tasked with selling surplus produce. In 1831, when Loudon was on a tour of gardens in the west of Scotland he noted that, as the owners were absent, all of the garden produce was sold at market.[428] In 1834, commenting on the depressed state of the nursery business in England, Loudon said that one of the causes was the practice of noblemen selling their fruit and vegetables and allowing their gardeners to propagate and sell their plants.[429] Sometimes a garden would gain a reputation for excelling in a particular variety, which would be promoted by the nurseries. William Peters the head gardener at Givons in Leatherhead developed a variety of strawberry which he named "Givons Late Prolific", for which he took an order for 25,000 runners from Messrs Laxtons in 1904.[430] Seward Snow (1794-1869), the head gardener at Wrest Park, raised a type of broccoli which he marketed as "Snow's Early White", and a Cos lettuce called "Snow's Matchless", which elicited the comment, on a visit to Wrest Park by Robert Fish and Thomas Appleby. "I venture to predict that most other Cos lettuces will be driven out of culture".[431]

Head gardeners had the opportunity to make a personal profit from the sale of garden produce, and there is no doubt that some will have availed themselves of it. Sometimes this needed the cooperation of the indoor domestic staff, as this description illustrates:

> The cook and butler each brought their accounts, the gardener charged for seeds, each finding the money in advance and being paid periodically "as per book"; the cook

> charged a good profit on her purchases, the butler was said to have produced a 2s 6d box of plate powder from a halfpenny worth of whitening, a 1s 6d bottle of Day and Martins from a penny skin of paste-blackening and so forth; and one was charged with defrauding the master of the house; but the judge decided that as the master did not look after his own business, but allowed the servants to become traders for his benefit, they had the perfect right to charge what was proper over the original cost, to cover the risk they ran of not being paid at all if he became insolvent. In this manner the thoughtless apathy of heads of families generates the evil so universally complained of in servants of all kinds.[432]

WILLIAMS V. LESLIE

The extent to which an unscrupulous head gardener could take advantage of the system is aptly illustrated by the case of Williams v. Leslie, heard in 1875. A head gardener named Hood had been employed by Colonel Charles Leslie, a keen gardener who had personally designed the gardens at Leslie Castle, Glaslough.[433] Hood ran the gardens under his employer's close supervision until the Colonel's death in June 1871. The estate was then inherited by the colonel's brother John, an MP who spent most of his time in London, and did not normally visit the estate between January and September. He did not share his brother's keen interest in gardening but admitted: "I like sweet smelling flowers, such as Violets and things of that sort".[434] In 1873 the new owner became rather alarmed at the size of the bills being run up by his gardener and set a strict limit of an annual expenditure of £600. Hood ignored this limit and continued to run up large nursery bills, in particular with the firm of Williams in Upper Holloway. Matters came to a head in the autumn of 1874 when John Leslie received by mistake a receipt from a firm of auctioneers for plants which had been sold by Hood. It transpired that he had been buying plants from Williams and reselling them for ready cash at auction. Hood was dismissed. But there remained the unpaid accounts with Williams, which amounted to £428. John Leslie repudiated liability on the basis that his gardener did not have his authority to order the goods. The case came to trial in November 1875 in the Exchequer division of the High Court in London, before a judge and a special jury, when the full nature of Hood's skulduggery was revealed. It transpired that far from keeping to his

expense limit of £600 a year, Hood had in fact spent £3,000, not all of it with Williams.[435] With each purchase he received a cash payment of 5% of the value of the goods. Williams, in evidence, said that it was not his practice to give a cash discount (which went to the gardener), but instead gave the gardener a "present" in cash of 5% of the purchase price, which amounted to the same thing.[436]

The case of Leslie v Williams revealed a third way in which Hood dishonestly profited from his position. Colonel Leslie had encouraged Hood to exhibit produce grown in the garden, particularly grapes, at local shows and his brother gave him permission to continue the tradition. But instead of exhibiting his own produce, Hood bought the best plants from Williams' catalogue and exhibited them as his own. One of them, a *Lapageria rosea*, for which he paid £22 3s, had 500 flowers on it, and was illustrated in the *Gardeners' Chronicle* (Fig 58).[437] By this stratagem he won several prizes and cups at the Glasgow International Horticultural Show in 1873. On his dismissal he was asked to hand over the cups, to which he replied "No. They've got my name on them".[438]

John Leslie lost his case. The contention that a Head Gardener did not have the authority to order plants was thrown out at any early stage. The jury awarded Williams the full amount of his claim, less the 5% which Hood would have received.[439]



FIG. 40.—LAPAGERIA ROSEA.

Fig. 61. The *Lapageria rosea* used by Hood for his fraudulent prize winning.[440]

GRATUITIES

Gratuities, also known at the time as vails, were an abundant source of revenue for those indoor staff who had contact with visitors, and were also paid to gardeners in return for showing guests around the garden.

As Thomas Barber commented in 1804:

> [The] demand of five shillings for the gardener's attendance was willingly paid, yet the same sum . . . required by the housekeeper, appeared to us more than the show of any Welch house was worth . . . there always appears to me something very unworthy in great men allowing their servants to extract the sums that they do from the spectators of their grandeur.[441]

Sometimes under-gardeners as well as head gardeners would benefit from tips. Robert Aughtie, at Chatsworth wrote in his diary that he was "very vexed" at only receiving seven pence from a party of nine visitors- clearly he was expecting a penny from each of them.[442]

TESTIMONIALS AND LEGACIES

In 1868 Thomas Ingram, the head gardener at the royal gardens at Frogmore, Windsor, retired and was presented by Queen Victoria with a purse of £150, a tea and coffee service and a gold watch. He left the imposing head gardener's house (page 47 of volume 2) to live in a grace and favour property at Upton Lodge, Slough. The Queen made the journey to see him there on several occasions, her final visit being on the day before he died in 1872.[443] The solicitude which Queen Victoria showed to her head gardener reflected the respect shown to head gardeners generally at this time.[444] When Charles McIntosh left the service of the Duke of Dalkeith in 1858, after 20 years' service he was presented with a purse to the value of £325, together with a tea service.[445] Robert Thomson on his retirement from the RHS gardens at Chiswick received a testimonial worth £400.[446]

Bequests to head gardeners were commonly noted in the gardening journals. The Earl of Leven, left £500 to "my old friend", his head gardener at his estate in

Roehampton and a further £200 to his gardener on his estate in Glenferness.[447] Thomas Timmis, of Allerton, Near Liverpool, gave a legacy of £300 to his head gardener B. Cromwell.[448]

THE PROBATE VALUATIONS OF HEAD GARDENERS

The detailed record of income and expenditure kept by Joseph Allen is unique. Nothing like it is known to exist for any head gardener. Joseph Allen did not leave a will and it is most unlikely as an under-gardener that he would have had anything to leave, but many head gardeners did leave estates which were substantial enough to be valued in probate, and the sums which they left were in many cases revealing. Seward Snow who had been head gardener at Wrest Park for 34 years died in 1869 at the age of 75. He left the sum of £8,000 in his will, which is the equivalent of £800,000 today using the retail price index (RPI) or £4,176,000 using the perhaps more realistic earnings index (EI). In the probate records he is described, not as "Gardener" but as "Gentleman". It is likely that Seward Snow's income was enhanced by the money which he received from the sale of the seed to which he lent his name (see page 116) and he was also a prodigious prize winner at the major shows.[449] Seward Snow's successor was George Ford, who died in 1905 leaving £1,845 (RPI 183,546, EI 778,734) a large sum, if not as huge as his predecessor. Robert Fish only had journalism as a known source of extra income and he left the very impressive sum of £4,000 (RPI of £368,000 and EI of £1,900,00) when he died in 1873, aged 80. Even his brother David, who had written in 1867 that it was impossible to save even a pound a year from his salary, (page 106-7) left £1,394. 14s 8d.[450] when he died, after several years of retirement in Edinburgh in 1901 aged 76. The schedule at Appendix III gives the probate valuations of thirty-5 head gardeners who died between 1850 and 1914, whose names have been taken from the death notices in the *Gardeners' Chronicle*, and their average estate was £1,553 (RPI of £149,088 and EI of £924,035).[451] One head gardener has been left of the list, because the size of his estate would have boosted the average to £6,802. This is Sir Joseph Paxton who died in 1865 aged 60 leaving an estate worth £180,000 (RPI of

£19,080,000 and EI of £108,000,000). Although Paxton had started his career as a gardener, and earned a very high salary in that capacity, he made his fortune through the business interests which he pursued in the latter part of his life, as is well documented.[452]However it is significant that his counterpart at Chiswick, Charles Edmonds, left £6,000 (RPI £618,000 and EI £2,622,000).

POSTSCRIPT: WOMEN AS PROFESSIONAL GARDENERS

> *£1,000 Gardeners - Where Women Excel*[453]
> Daily Mail Headline 5 November 1912

Although women played a pivotal role in the control and management of gardens, it was not until the late nineteenth century that they began to make an impression as professional gardeners. A programme to train female gardeners was inaugurated at Swanley Horticultural College in 1891.[454] In contrast to the case with male gardeners, the intake was mainly from the middle-classes; this was because the fees were £80 a year, although scholarships were available.[455] In spite of the high level of fees the course was popular; in 1894 there were thirty female students and in 1895 thirty-four.[456] One of the scholarship girls was Annie Gulvin who received her funding from Kent County Council.[457] She completed her training at Kew and went on to become the gardener for J. Brogden Esq., in Ferryside, South Wales.[458] Another Swanley graduate who went on to become a head gardener was Gertrude Cope, whose father was a journalist. Miss Cope, after a year at Kew, joined the staff of The Manor House, Northfield, near Birmingham, in 1898 and after a period in charge of the fruit and flower garden was promoted to the position of head gardener in 1903.[459] She had eight men and a boy working under her.[460]

Kew ceased to take on female trainees in 1901 and did not resume doing so until 1915, but other avenues became available for women gardeners. Mrs James Bryant Sowerby, the wife of the secretary of the Royal Botanic Garden in Regents Park, set up a horticultural school for ladies with the purpose of training "companion gardeners". She explained:

> Men with business in London have two or three acres of garden which their wives have practically to look after. It would, I am sure, be an advantage to some of these ladies to employ a young woman who would not only do the gardening, but would be a companion. I believe there is an excellent opening for professional lady gardeners in the Home Counties.[461]

In 1902 thirteen female students enrolled on a three-year course at Regent's Park. Mrs Sowerby believed that there were excellent prospects for her pupils, most of whom were the daughters of professional men, of obtaining work as gardeners. She expected that the average girl would earn £50 a year "at least", and said that half of those who attended the course intended to make gardening their profession.[462] It is clear that these companion-gardeners, as well as earning £50 a year would be provided with board and lodging.

In 1898 a new school for female horticultural students was founded under the name Lady Warwick Hostel, later named Studley College.[463] Studley students excelled in the Royal Horticultural Society's examinations, winning their gold medal for seven consecutive years. Their Principal, Dr Lillias Hamilton was reported as saying:

> A post was provided the other day for a lady gardener in a big country house garden. She is paid £1,000 a year with a furnished house and a good many extras and a percentage on superfluous fruit sold.[464]

The salary was in fact £100 a year, not £1,000, but the fact that this female gardener earned the same wage as Harry Thrower at Horwood House, together with a free house and other benefits shows that for the first time the rewards of female gardeners were beginning to equal those of the male.[465] Nevertheless, their role was peripheral, at least until after the outbreak of the Great War.

CHAPTER V. CONCLUSION

It would be reasonable to conclude that Joseph Allen in 1842 lived a life of quiet desperation. He worked for at least ten hours a day for six days a week, with no days off apart from Sundays and only just managed to feed and clothe his family with the help of the wages of his wife and ten year old son, with nothing left over

for the smallest luxury. Joseph Allen was one of a class of under-gardener who, at the age of 35 with five children would have had little chance of obtaining a head gardener's position and would have been one of the great majority of all gardeners who remained on the lower rungs of the profession for his entire gardening life. If there were only seven thousand parkland estates in Britain then there can only have been seven thousand positions for head gardeners to look after them; all the rest had either to settle for one of the less desirable positions in the second or third rank, or remain, like Joseph Allen, as an under-gardener for his entire working life.

However, it is unlikely that Joseph Allen's position would have remained as bleak as it was in 1842 for the rest of his career. The wages of labouring gardeners rose and the prices of basic commodities fell, so that his standard of living will have risen, albeit slowly, over the course of time. Bread formed a major component of the Allen family's expenditure and when the price of bread fell after the repeal of the corn laws in 1846, this will have had a major impact on his standard of living.

Most under-gardeners will have benefited from gently rising disposable incomes but those who did not reach the highest rank, which must have been approximately ninety five per-cent of the 130,000 employed as "domestic gardeners" in 1911, for the most part worked the same long hours as gardeners had three generations before and earned a wage which was at, or below, the level of the ordinary labourer. Those head gardeners who were forced to accept one of the "general factotum" positions as the sole gardener in a small place earned a wage of £50 year, or thereabouts, only marginally above that earned by Joseph Allen's family in 1842, but with the advantage of free accommodation.

The question of earnings cannot be considered in isolation from that of accommodation, and in that respect the evidence is clear and cogent that standards of housing improved considerably for gardeners of all ranks during the period in question. It is an indication of the quality of the under-gardeners' cottages at Redleaf and Edensor (Figs. 34 & 37 and 16) that they still stand today, unaltered in external appearance, and are now desirable middle-class homes.

Most rural cottages had a garden so that under-gardeners, as was the case with Joseph Allen, had the opportunity to enhance their incomes through growing vegetables and keeping a pig. The few extant diaries of young gardeners, such as those of William Cresswell and Thomas Aughtie portray lives which as well as being highly disciplined and industrious are also happy and fulfilled. Thus, although it can be accepted, in line with the common perception, that gardeners were poorly paid, it was also the case that they were on the whole well housed and well fed. Likewise, young unmarried gardeners in bothy accommodation continued to be poorly paid, but substantial improvements were made for the accommodation of many, if not all.

The five per cent, or thereabouts, of gardeners in the top positions benefitted enormously from the fashion for conspicuous consumption on gardens from the 1840's onwards. Owners of parkland estates basked in the reflected glory of the achievements of their gardeners in producing magnificent bedding displays, winning prizes at horticultural shows and producing fruit and vegetables out of season. The men who were capable of producing the desired results reaped the highest rewards. Sometimes, very exceptionally, as in the case of Joseph Paxton, the rewards were expressed in the form of a high salary, but more usually it was because gardeners were able to profit from practices such as the sale of produce, winning prizes at shows and taking a "percentage" on purchases. The evidence is compelling that the great majority of gardeners took advantage of the cash discount which the nurseries offered, so it was only the righteous few, such as David Fish, who did not benefit. Other gardeners, Fish, included, were able to earn additional income from activities related to gardening, such as journalism or, like Seward Snow, selling seeds. On a large estate which received visitors and made extensive purchases from nurseries the opportunities for a head gardener to profit from the gardening activities was such that in many cases the size of his salary was an irrelevance. That some did profit hugely from these opportunities can be seen from the amounts which they were able to save, as evidenced by the probate valuations.

The prestige of the top head gardeners was also expressed in the accommodation with which they were provided, which was often of the highest

quality, placed in its own grounds. It is a significant fact that some of these began as manor houses as at Mertoun, Mentmore and Sanderstead Court or went on to be called manor houses, as at Hardwicke. It is also significant that gardeners such as Seward Snow achieved the designation of 'Gentleman'. In 1833 Loudon had published the design of a castellated gardener's house with wine and china closets. When his colleague John Robertson built a castellated lodge to a similar design at Edensor it was occupied not by a head gardener, but by an under-gardener. The status of the head gardener can be judged from the fact that Joseph Paxton, long before he designed the Crystal Palace and became a household name, received a visit from the Queen in his own house. Looked at as a whole, taking account of the quality of their housing, the benefits which went with it and the other income which accrued, the designation of these head gardeners being "underpaid" is clearly incorrect, and it is understandable why some thought of them as "Lords of the Manor".

APPENDICES

I. RETAIL PRICE AND EARNINGS INDEX

Year	Retail Price Index	Average Wage	Earnings Iquivalent	Avg Earning (2010 £s)
1800	£70.93	£23.58	£1,022.00	£1,485.00
1801	£63.41	£24.39	£987.60	£1,449.00
1802	£82.55	£25.24	£954.00	£1,758.00
1803	£87.05	£26.22	£919.00	£1,867.00
1804	£84.74	£27.39	£879.00	£1,879.00
1805	£73.09	£28.57	£843.00	£1,808.00
1806	£76.00	£29.09	£828.00	£1,840.00
1807	£77.85	£29.59	£814.00	£1,837.00
1808	£74.81	£30.52	£789.00	£1,856.00
1809	£68.40	£30.92	£779.00	£1,750.00
1810	£66.50	£31.75	£759.00	£1,757.00
1811	£68.40	£33.31	£723.00	£1,885.00
1812	£60.22	£34.27	£703.00	£1,781.00
1813	£58.74	£35.95	£670.00	£1,829.00
1814	£67.43	£35.45	£680.00	£1,934.00
1815	£75.40	£35.02	£687.00	£2,023.00
1816	£82.55	£33.79	£713.00	£2,018.00
1817	£72.54	£33.47	£720.00	£1,911.00
1818	£72.54	£32.78	£735.00	£1,867.00
1819	£74.23	£33.13	£727.00	£1,961.00
1820	£81.84	£33.11	£728.00	£2,064.00
1821	£92.97	£31.92	£754.60	£2,123.00
1822	£107.59	£29.66	£812.00	£2,108.00
1823	£100.80	£30.05	£801.60	£2,124.00
1824	£92.97	£30.55	£788.00	£2,097.00
1825	£79.14	£32.15	£749.00	£2,059.00
1826	£84.00	£32.30	£746.00	£2,117.00

1827	£89.49	£32.46	£742.00	£2,192.00
1828	£92.07	£32.23	£747.00	£2,153.00
1829	£92.97	£32.26	£747.00	£2,214.00
1830	£96.72	£32.65	£738.00	£2,280.00
1831	£87.85	£32.46	£742.00	£2,299.00
1832	£94.81	£32.23	£747.00	£2,336.00
1833	£100.80	£32.39	£744.00	£2,397.00
1834	£110.06	£31.52	£764.00	£2,362.00
1835	£107.59	£32.12	£750.00	£2,466.00
1836	£96.72	£33.03	£729.00	£2,425.00
1837	£94.81	£33.81	£712.00	£2,396.00
1838	£93.88	£33.03	£729.00	£2,319.00
1839	£87.85	£33.63	£716.00	£2,307.00
1840	£86.27	£32.20	£748.00	£2,267.00
1841	£87.85	£34.43	£700.00	£2,441.00
1842	£95.76	£34.87	£691.00	£2,559.00
1843	£107.59	£34.96	£689.00	£2,677.00
1844	£107.59	£33.21	£725.00	£2,590.00
1845	£102.96	£34.05	£707.00	£2,627.00
1846	£98.72	£34.20	£704.00	£2,582.00
1847	£87.85	£34.84	£691.00	£2,483.00
1848	£100.80	£34.21	£704.00	£2,679.00
1849	£107.59	£34.54	£697.00	£2,794.00
1850	£114.00	£33.98	£709.00	£2,834.00
1851	£118.22	£33.58	£717.00	£2,868.00
1852	£118.22	£33.87	£711.00	£2,869.00
1853	£107.59	£35.26	£683.00	£2,782.00
1854	£93.88	£37.02	£650.00	£2,711.00
1855	£91.20	£37.18	£648.00	£2,710.00
1856	£91.20	£37.47	£643.00	£2,731.00
1857	£95.76	£36.78	£655.00	£2,737.00
1858	£105.23	£37.25	£647.00	£2,924.00

1859	£106.40	£38.60	£624.00	£3,015.00
1860	£102.96	£38.54	£625.00	£2,822.00
1861	£100.80	£39.36	£612.00	£2,865.00
1862	£102.96	£39.47	£610.00	£2,872.00
1863	£106.40	£39.98	£603.00	£2,983.00
1864	£107.59	£39.57	£609.00	£3,036.00
1865	£106.40	£40.12	£600.00	£2,991.00
1866	£100.80	£41.67	£578.00	£3,011.00
1867	£94.81	£43.31	£556.20	£2,991.00
1868	£95.76	£43.82	£550.00	£3,076.00
1869	£100.80	£46.18	£522.00	£3,326.00
1870	£100.80	£46.52	£518.00	£3,473.00
1871	£99.75	£47.30	£509.00	£3,434.00
1872	£95.76	£48.31	£499.00	£3,364.00
1873	£92.07	£50.72	£475.00	£3,506.00
1874	£95.76	£52.38	£460.00	£3,792.00
1875	£97.71	£53.86	£447.00	£3,959.00
1876	£97.71	£54.89	£439.00	£4,027.00
1877	£98.72	£58.21	£414.00	£4,274.00
1878	£100.80	£58.78	£410.00	£4,448.00
1879	£105.23	£58.94	£409.00	£4,672.00
1880	£101.87	£55.89	£431.00	£4,341.00
1881	£102.96	£55.13	£437.00	£4,339.00
1882	£101.87	£55.11	£437.00	£4,329.00
1883	£102.96	£55.13	£437.00	£4,330.00
1884	£105.23	£55.33	£435.00	£4,498.00
1885	£108.81	£55.54	£434.00	£4,678.00
1886	£110.06	£55.64	£433.00	£4,728.00
1887	£111.34	£55.65	£433.00	£4,826.00
1888	£110.06	£55.75	£432.00	£4,845.00
1889	£108.81	£55.98	£430.00	£4,827.00
1890	£108.81	£56.53	£426.00	£4,852.00

1891	£107.59	£58.04	£415.00	£4,943.00
1892	£107.59	£59.74	£403.00	£5,065.00
1893	£108.81	£60.54	£398.00	£5,238.00
1894	£110.06	£61.67	£391.00	£5,477.00
1895	£111.34	£62.50	£385.00	£5,629.00
1896	£112.65	£63.10	£382.00	£5,697.00
1897	£110.06	£63.71	£378.00	£5,638.00
1898	£110.06	£65.02	£371.00	£5,650.00
1899	£108.81	£67.03	£359.00	£5,885.00
1900	£104.80	£67.96	£354.00	£5,737.00
1901	£104.08	£68.92	£350.00	£5,837.00
1902	£104.08	£69.23	£348.00	£5,863.00
1903	£102.96	£69.40	£347.00	£5,814.00
1904	£102.96	£69.55	£346.00	£5,845.00
1905	£102.96	£69.67	£346.00	£5,836.00
1906	£102.96	£69.63	£346.00	£5,840.00
1907	£101.87	£70.20	£343.00	£5,792.00
1908	£101.87	£70.33	£343.00	£5,729.00
1909	£100.80	£70.45	£342.00	£5,727.00
1910	£99.75	£70.92	£340.00	£5,645.00
1911	£99.75	£70.66	£341.00	£5,613.00
1912	£96.72	£72.11	£334.00	£5,567.00
1913	£97.71	£72.24	£333.00	£5,543.00
1914	£97.71	£79.58	£303.00	£5,957.00

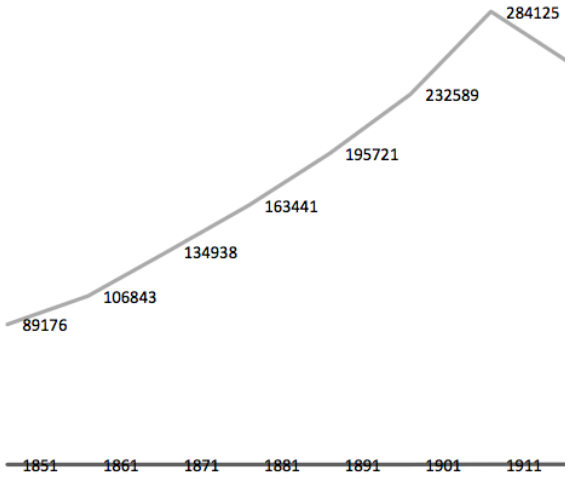
Column B from Bank of England Inflation Calculator

Column C from measuringworth.com Average Nominal Earnings data set

Column D from measuringworth.com Earnings Index

Column E from measuringworth.com Average Earnings Calculator

II. Number of Gardening Professionals in Britain, 1851-1911[466]



III. Design for Gardener's Houses in a Series of Eight Plans from Loudon's *Gardener's Magazine*, 1832-35

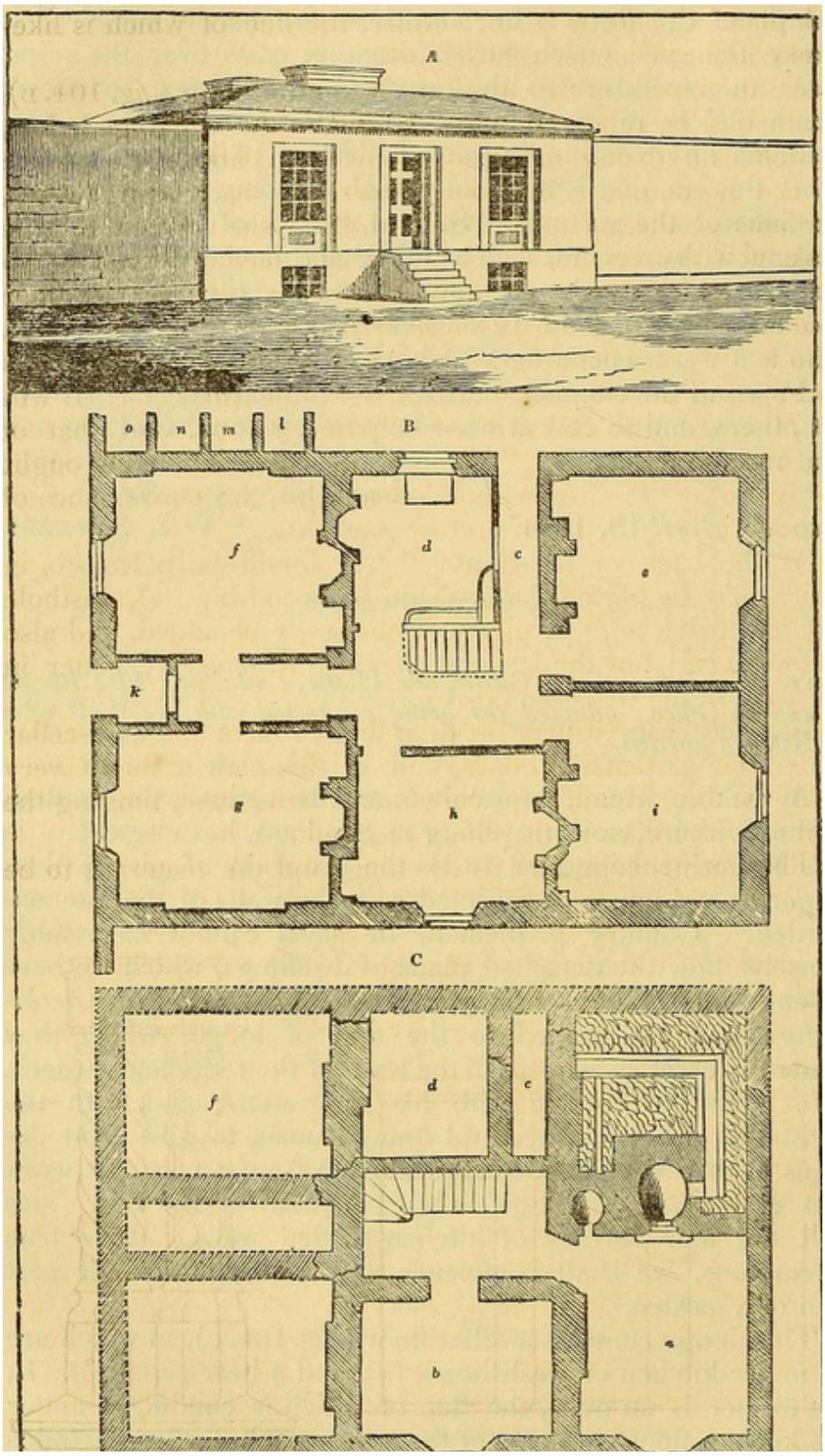


Fig. 1. Design for a Gardener's House, containing Five Rooms and an Office; Adapted for being connected with the Wall of a Kitchen-garden (volume 8 (1832), p. 552)

FIG. 2. DESIGN FOR GARDENER'S HOUSE, ADAPTED FOR BEING CONNECTED WITH THE WEST WALL OF A KITCHEN-GARDEN (VOLUME 8 (1832), P. 659-60)

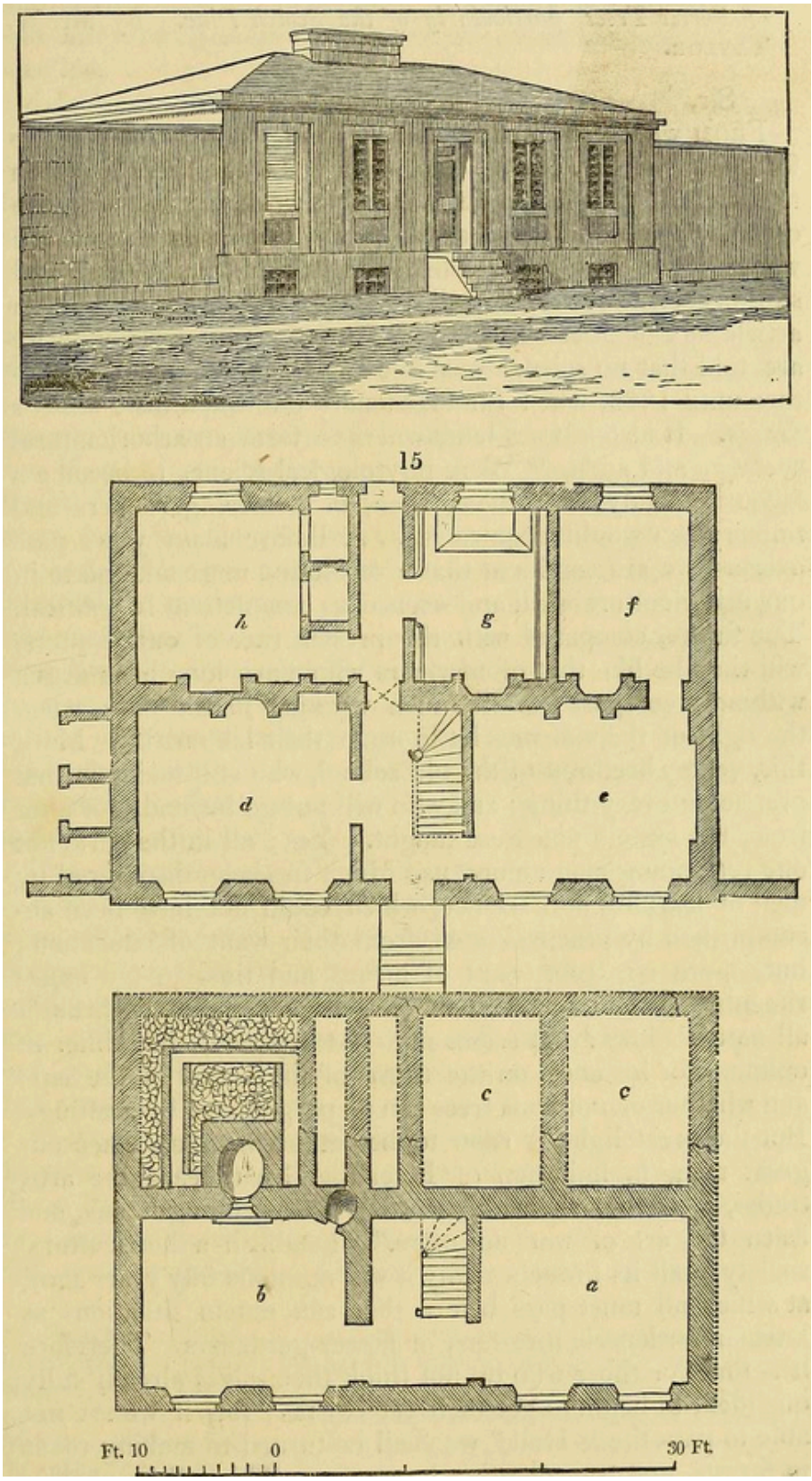


FIG. 3. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, TO BE SITUATED ON THE NORTH SIDE OF A WALLED KITCHEN-GARDEN (VOLUME 9 (1833), P. 47)

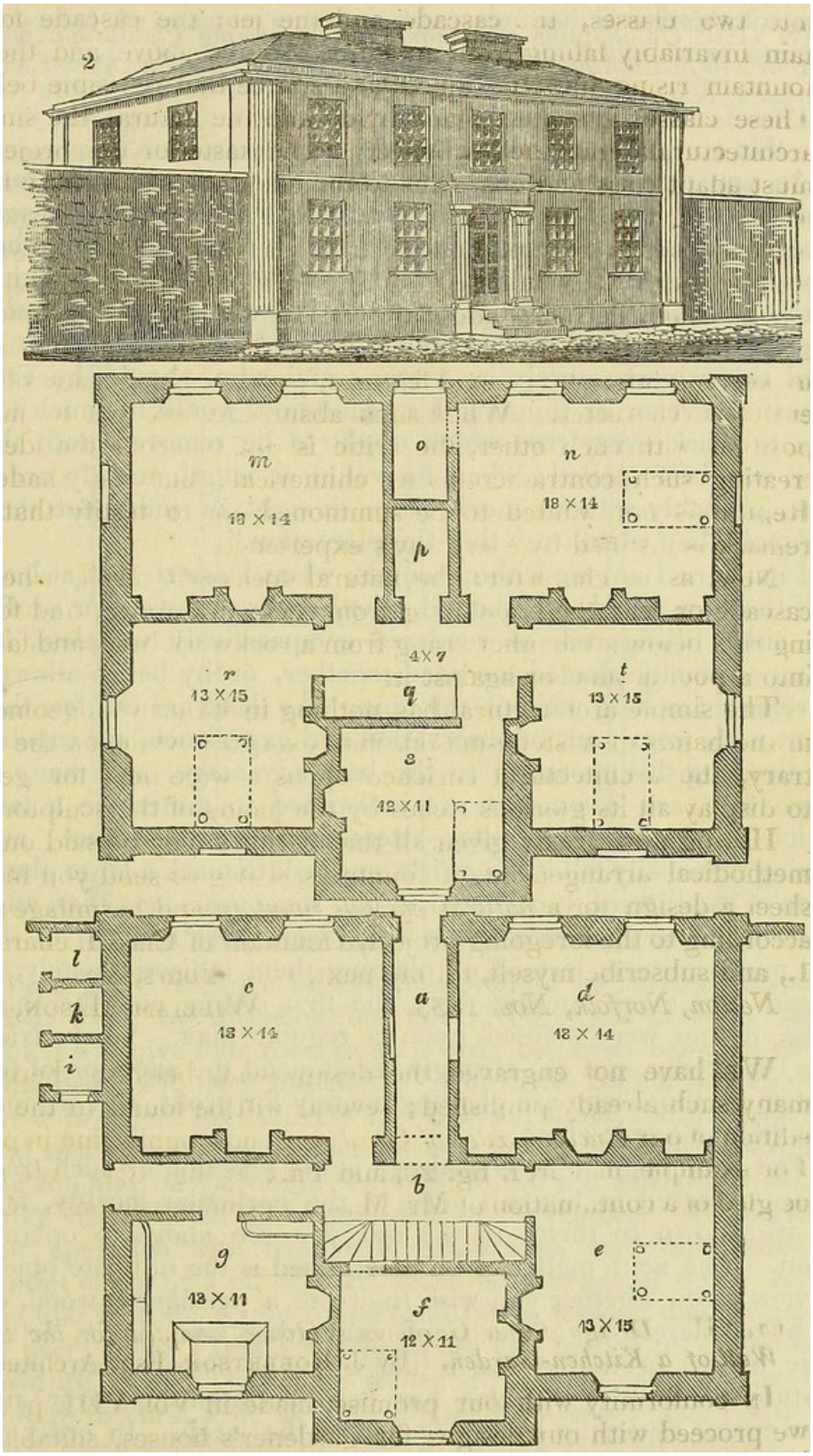


FIG. 4. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, ADAPTED FOR THE SOUTH-WALL OF A KITCHEN-GARDEN (VOLUME 10 (1834), P. 25)

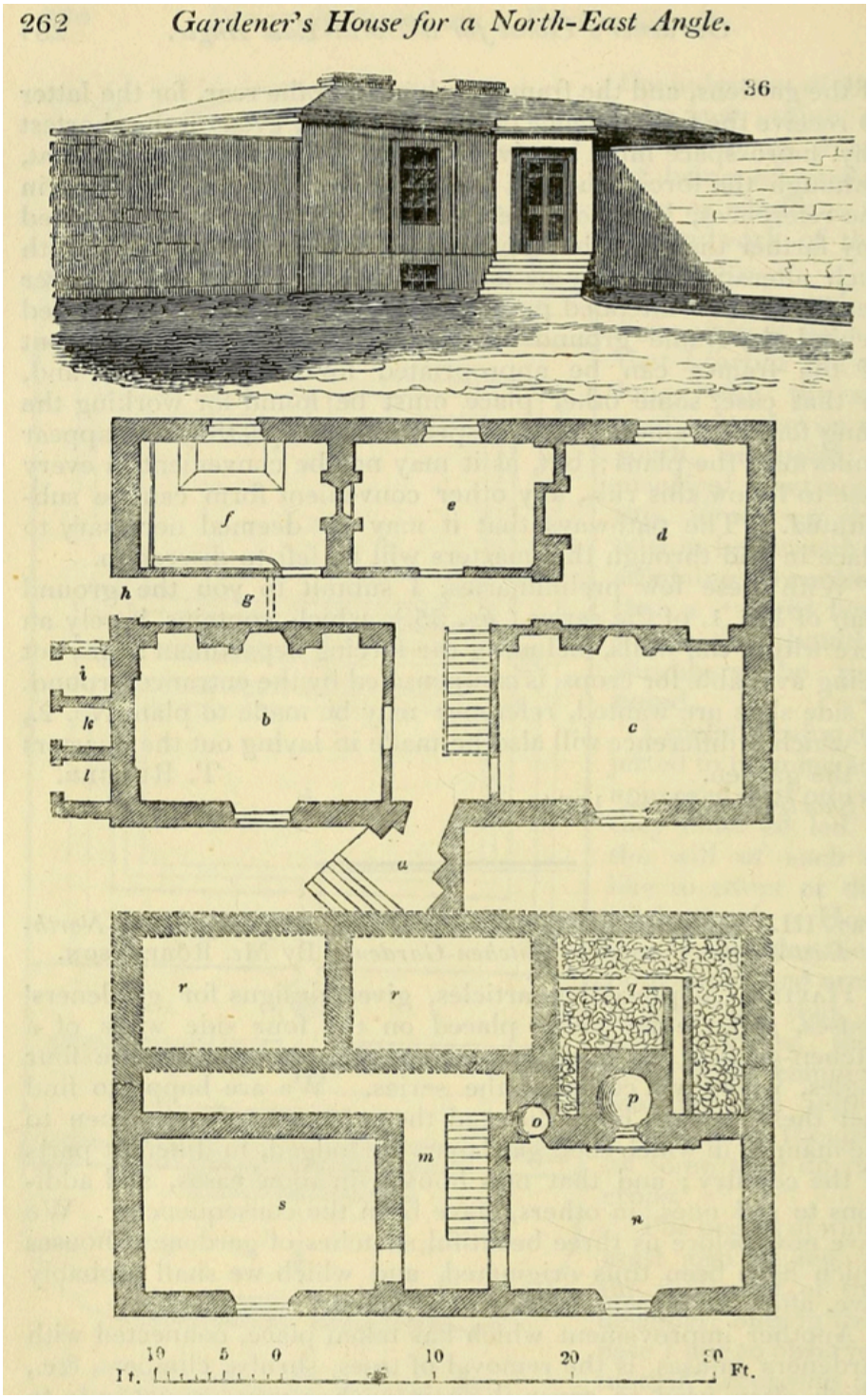


FIG. 5. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, ADAPTED FOR THE NORTH-EAST ANGLE OF A WALLED KITCHEN-GARDEN (VOLUME 10 (1834), P. 262)

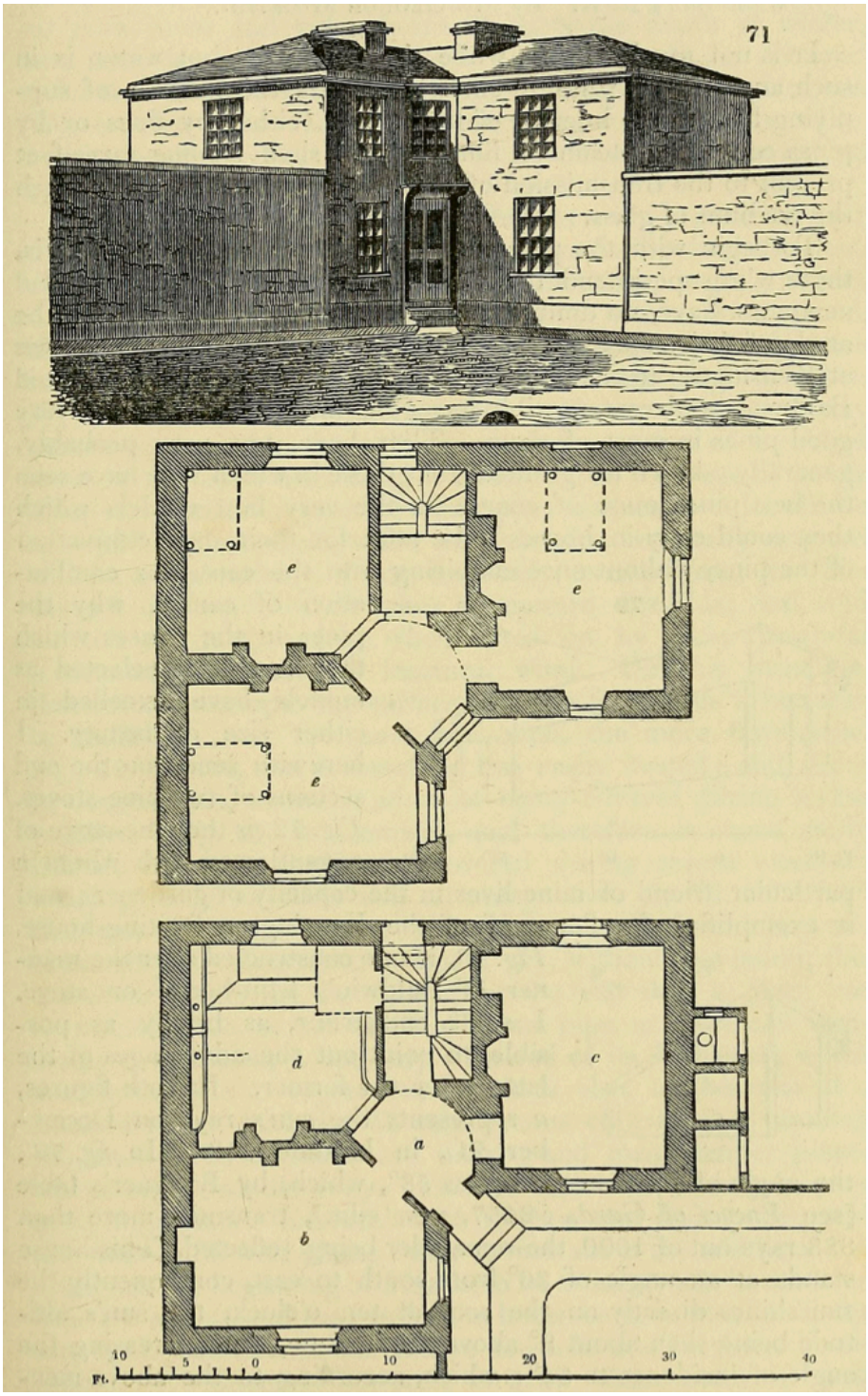


FIG. 6. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, FOR THE NORTH-WEST ANGLE OF A WALLED KITCHEN-GARDEN (VOLUME 10 (1834), P. 375)

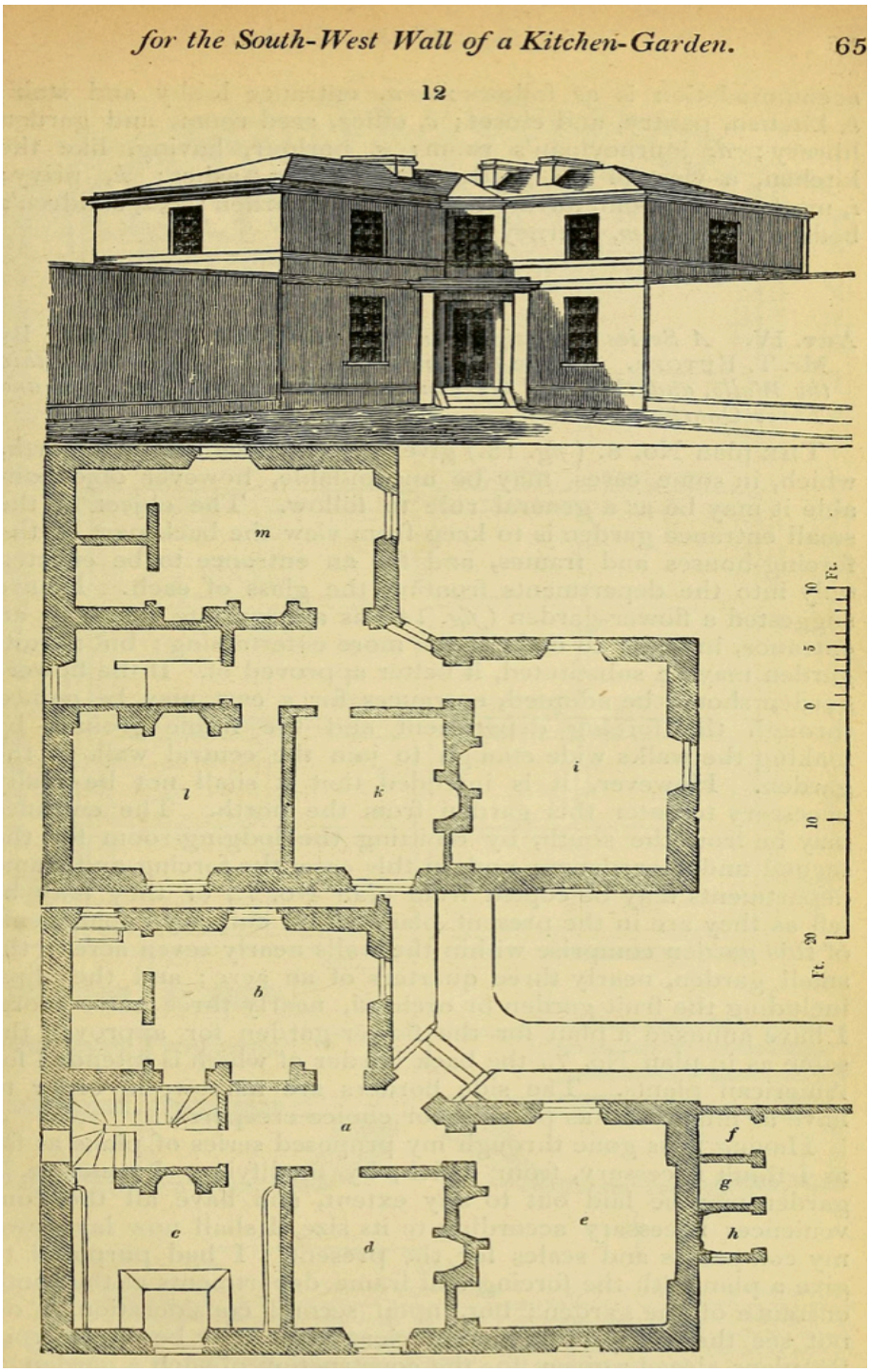


FIG. 7. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, ADAPTED FOR THE SOUTH-WEST WALL OF A KITCHEN-GARDEN (N.S. VOLUME 1 (1835), P. 65)

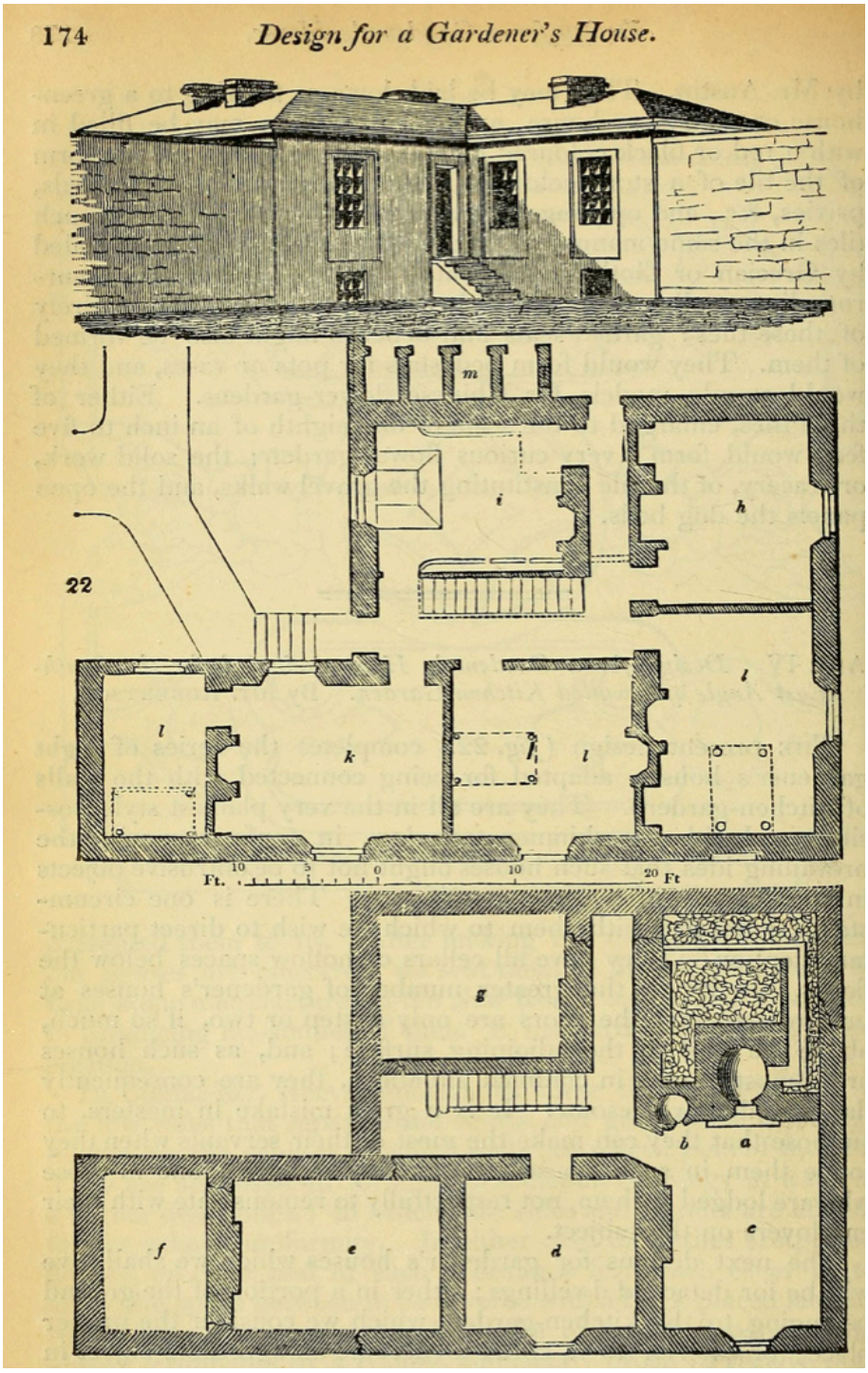


FIG. 8. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE, ADAPTED FOR THE SOUTH-EAST ANGLE OF A WALLED KITCHEN-GARDEN (N.S. VOLUME 1 (1835), P. 174)

IV. CENSUS FOR GARDENERS AT EDENSOR AND CHATSWORTH, 1841-1911

Year	Name	Occupation	Residence
1911			
	Oliver Booth	Gardener	Edensor Lodge
	Frederick Robert James	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
	George Henry Longden	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
	Richard Morton	Groom Gardener Dom	Edensor
	John William Dunkirk	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
	Herbert Bacon	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
	William Elliott	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
	Egbert Mather	Gardener Dom (Boarder)	
	John Howard	Gardener Domestic	Tallow Bank
	George Askey	Gardener Labourer	Station Lodge/Kitchen Gardens
	William Lovell	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
	Harry Baldwin	Gardener Domestic	
	George Cheshire	Gardener Domestic	
	Henry Edge	Gardener Domestic	
	Sidney Pickersgill	Gardener Domestic	
	James Preston	Gardener Domestic	
	Thomas Lloyd	Gardener Domestic	
	John Bracegirdle	Gardener Domestic	
	Harry Thompson	Gardener Domestic	
	Wilfred Young	Gardener Domestic	
	Frank Jennings	Head Gardener	Kitchen Gardens
	George Francis Marples	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
	George Rydout	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
1901			
	William Read	Gardener Domestic	Barbrook Hall
	William Chester	Head Gardener	Barbrook Hall

George Rydout	Foreman Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
Lewis Rydout	Gardener Domestic	
Henry Redfern	Gardener Domestic	Dunsa Lane
Harry Bacon	Gardener Domestic	
William Elliott	Gardener	Edensor
George Longdem	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
John T. Hopkinson	Garden Labourer	
Frederick R. James	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
George F. Marples	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
George Cadney	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
Egbert Mather	Gardener Domestic	Reading Rooms
Oliver Booth	Gardener Domestic	The Lodge
Henry Alsop	Garden Labourer	Thatch Meadows

1891

William Miles	Gardener Domestic	Edensor Grocer Shop
William Elliott	Gardener Domestic	Edensor Grocer Shop
Samuel Milner	Gardener (Retired)	Edensor Grocer Shop
George Booth	Garden Labourer	Edensor Lodge
Robert James	Gardener Domestic	Edensor Lodge
John Gore	Gardener Domestic	Kennels
Henry Alsop	Garden Labourer	Thatch Meadows
Egbert Mather	Gardener Domestic	Reading Rooms
William Blagden	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
George Hibbert	Gardener Domestic	
George Scrimshaw	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
Robert Pulling	Journeyman Gardener	Edensor
Alfred Edwards	Journeyman Gardener	
George Swindell	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
George H. Longden	Gardener Domestic	Edensor
Frederick Gibson	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens

Charles Maynard	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
Edward Radley	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
Owen Thomas	Gardener Domestic	Kitchen Gardens
Harold Hoyle	Gardener Domestic	The Tower

1881

George Swindell	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
Charles Goodall	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
Benjamin Morten	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
Samuel Milner	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
George Scrimshaw	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
William Tillery	Gardener	Main Road - Edensor
George Booth	Gardening Labourer	Main Road - Edensor
John George	Gardeners Apprentice	Dunsor
George Holmes	Gardeners Apprentice	Dunsor
Robert Ashmore	Gardeners Apprentice	Dunsor
Jacob Boud	Gardener's Fireman	Hunting Tower
Samuel Boud	Gardener	Hunting Tower
James Ashton	Gardener	Kitchen Gardens
Joseph Sanderson	Gardener	Kitchen Gardens
Henry Chubb	Gardener	Kitchen Gardens
Thomas Speed	Head Gardener	Barbrook Lodge

1871

Charles Davies	Gardener	Park Cottage
George Scrimshaw	Gardener	Park Cottage
Joseph Mather	Gardener	Edensor
Samuel Milner	Gardener	Edensor
Robert Haydon	Gardener	Edensor
Rupert Kirk	Gardener	Edensor
Edmund Wilson	Gardener	Edensor
William Tillery	Gardener	The Lodge

John Gore	Gardener	The Lodge
William Bennett	Head Gardener	The Gardens

1861

Richard George	Gardener	Chatsworth Stand
Andrew Stewart	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
William Stewart	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
David Blagden	Gardener	Edensor
George Scrimshaw	Gardener	Edensor
George Downes	Groom & Gardener	Parsonage House
Samuel Milnes	Gardener	Parsonage House
Joseph Mather	Gardeners Labourer	Edensor
Henry Slow	Garden Labourer	Edensor
James Booth	Garden Labourer	Lodge
William Drabble	Gardener	Dunsor Cottage
Joseph Littlewood	Garden Labourer	Dunsor Cottage
Simeon Holmes	Gardener	Edensor Inn
George Walksworth	Garden Labourer	Sallow (Callow?) Hill
Samuel Furness	Gardener	Callow Lees

1851

Joseph Paxton	Land Agent, Architect & Landscape Gardener (Gardens)	
George Sage	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
Andrew Stewart	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
David Blagden	Gardener	Edensor
Robert Aughtie	Gardener	Edensor
William Wilson	Gardener	Edensor
John Cross	Servant & Gardener	Edensor
Samuel Milnes	Gardener	Edensor

1841

Joseph Littlewood	Gardener	Dunsar

Samuel Heath	Gardener	Chatsworth Stand
George McIntosh	Gardener	Chatsworth Stand
Joseph Paxton	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
Andrew Stewart	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
Peter Mitchell	Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens
Daniel Jordan	Apprentice Gardener	Chatsworth Gardens

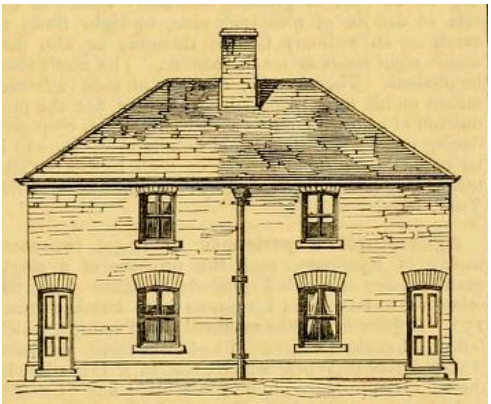


FIG. 175.—MR. MAKINS' COTTAGES.

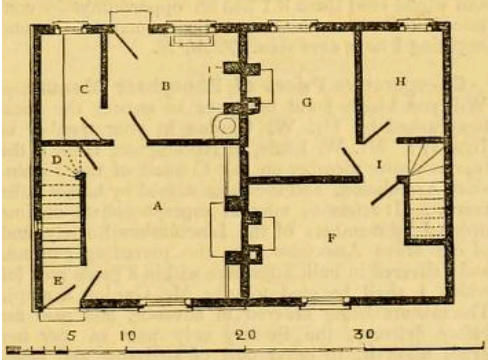


FIG. 176.—GROUND AND CHAMBER PLANS.

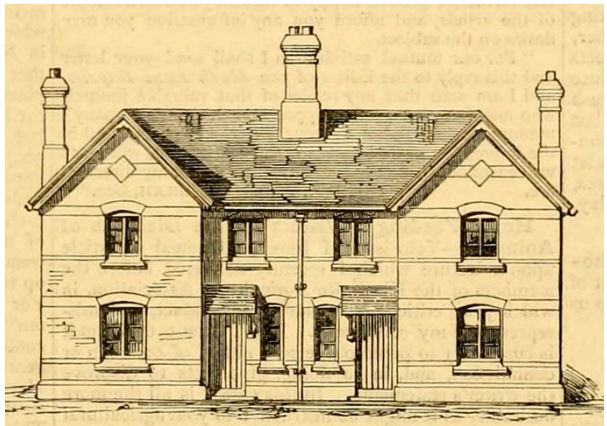


FIG. 169.—ELEVATION OF LABOURERS' COTTAGES.

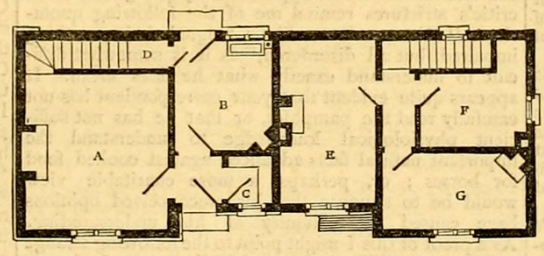


FIG. 170.—PLAN OF GROUND AND CHAMBER FLOORS.

A, Living-room; B, Scullery; C, Pantry; D, Fuel; E, F, G, Bedrooms.

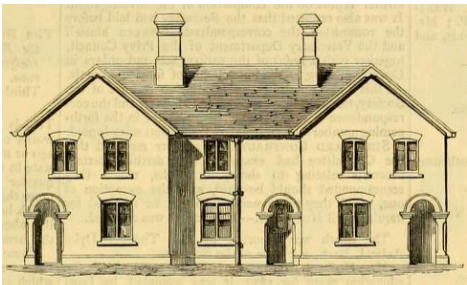


FIG. 227.—ELEVATION.

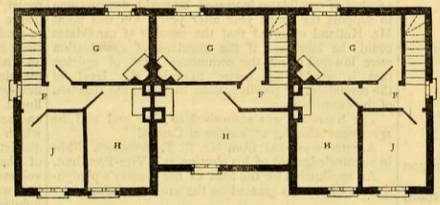


FIG. 228.—CHAMBER PLAN.

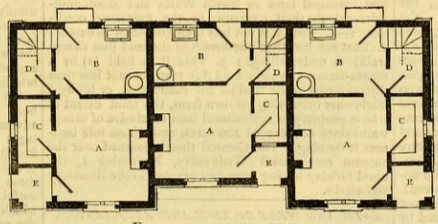


FIG. 229.—GROUND PLAN.

A, Living rooms; B, Sculleries; C, Pantries; D, Fuel stores; E, Porches; F, Stairs and landings; G, Parents' bedrooms; H and J, Children's bedrooms.

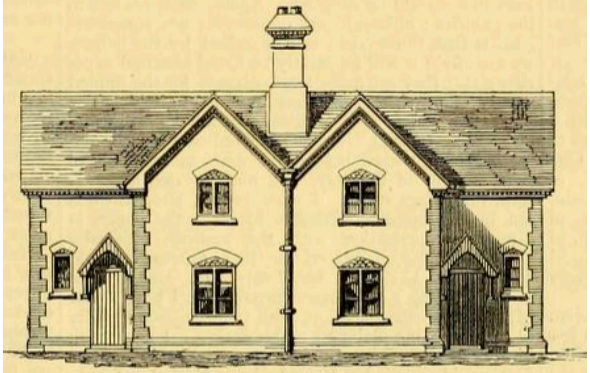


FIG. 188.—ELEVATION.

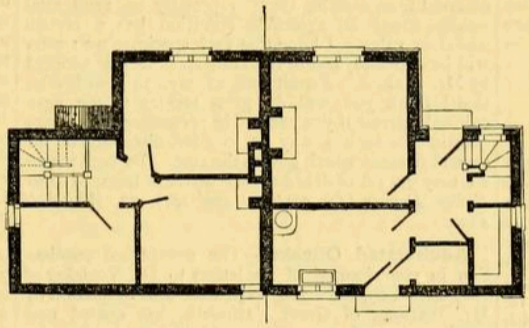


FIG. 189.—GROUND AND CHAMBER PLANS.

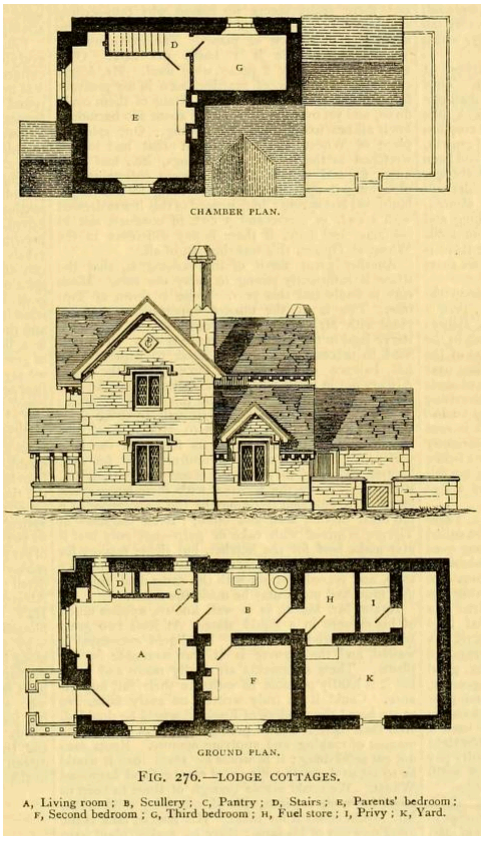


FIG. 276.—LODGE COTTAGES.

A, Living room; B, Scullery; C, Pantry; D, Stairs; E, Parents' bedroom; F, Second bedroom; G, Third bedroom; H, Fuel store; I, Privy; K, Yard.

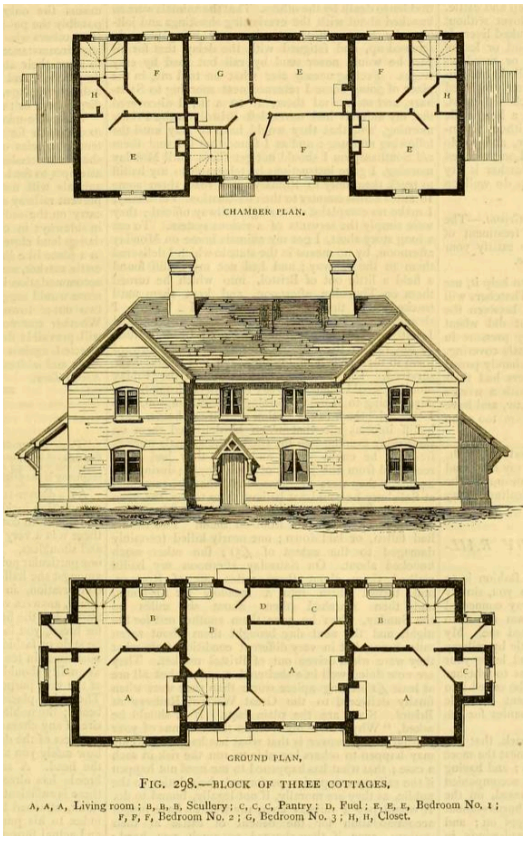


FIG. 298.—BLOCK OF THREE COTTAGES.

A, A, A, Living room; B, B, B, Scullery; C, C, C, Pantry; D, Fuel; E, E, E, Bedroom No. 1; F, F, F, Bedroom No. 2; G, Bedroom No. 3; H, H, Closet.

IMAGES SOURCED FROM *GARDENERS' CHRONICLE* (1871), PP. 819, 851, 885, 1023, 1209, 1335.

Fig.679.



Fig. 680.

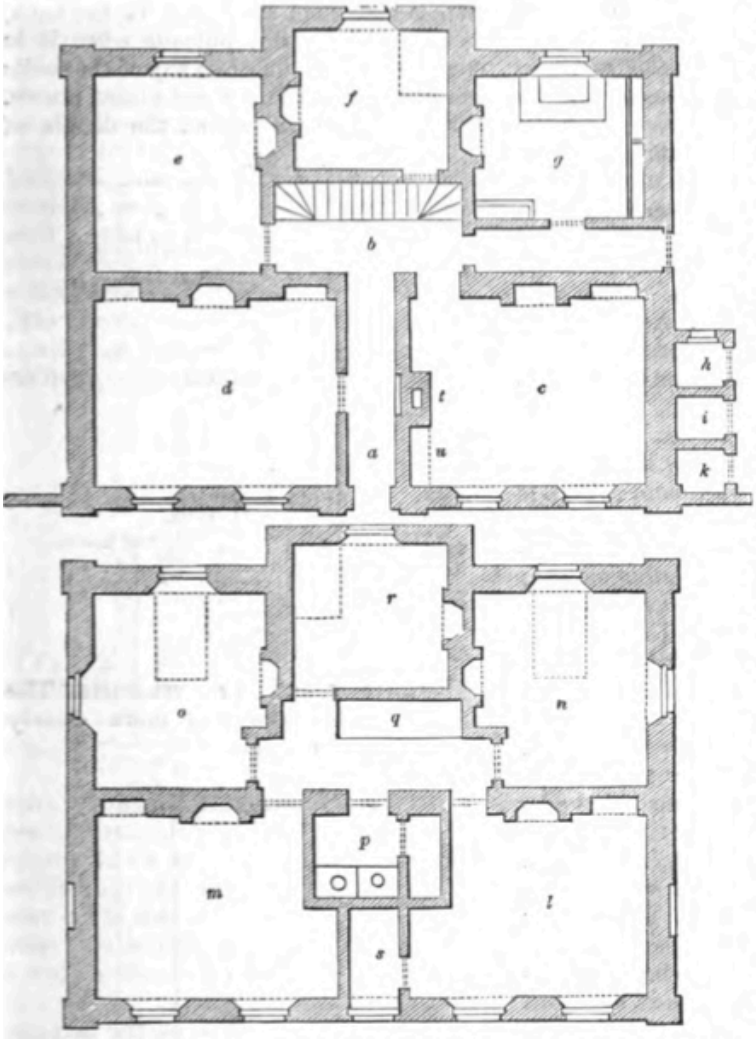


Fig. 1. Design suitable for the residence of a gardener, from McIntosh, *Book of the Garden,* 1855 edition, p. 476-77.

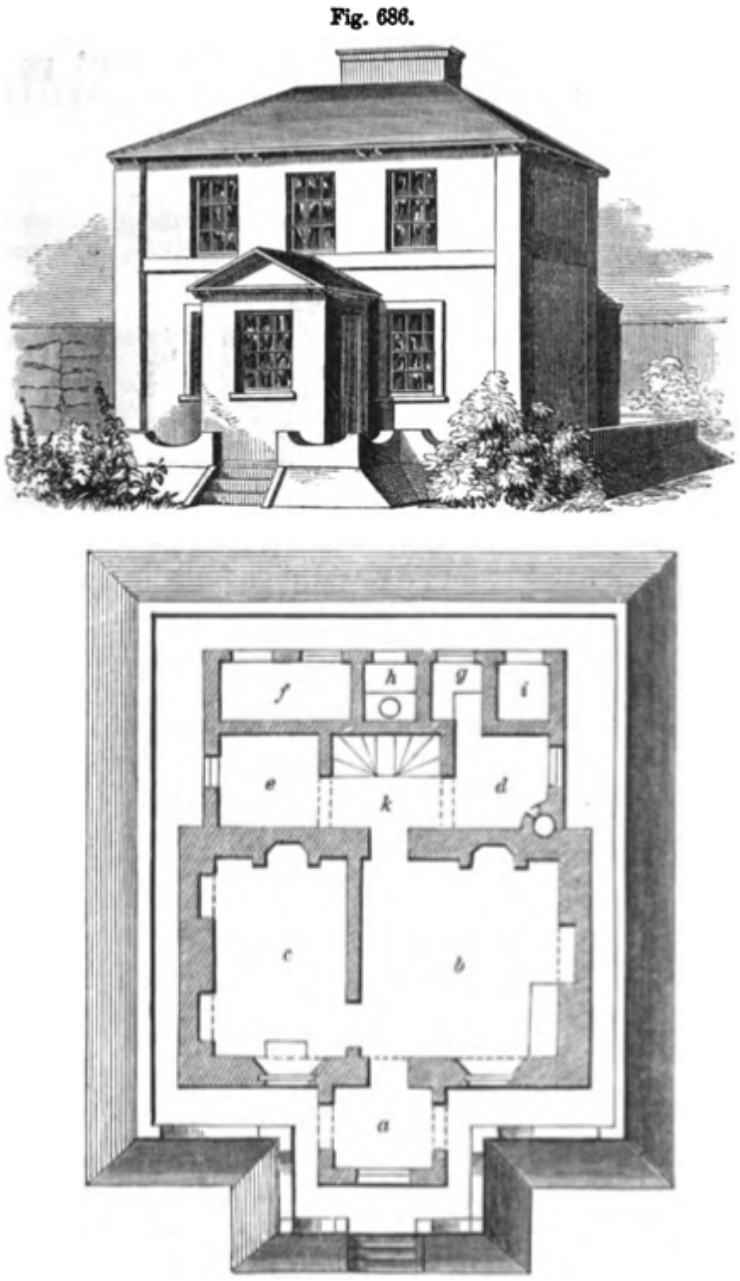


FIG. 2. DESIGN FOR A GARDENER'S HOUSE OF FOUR ROOMS AND OTHER CONVENIENCES, FROM *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 479-80.

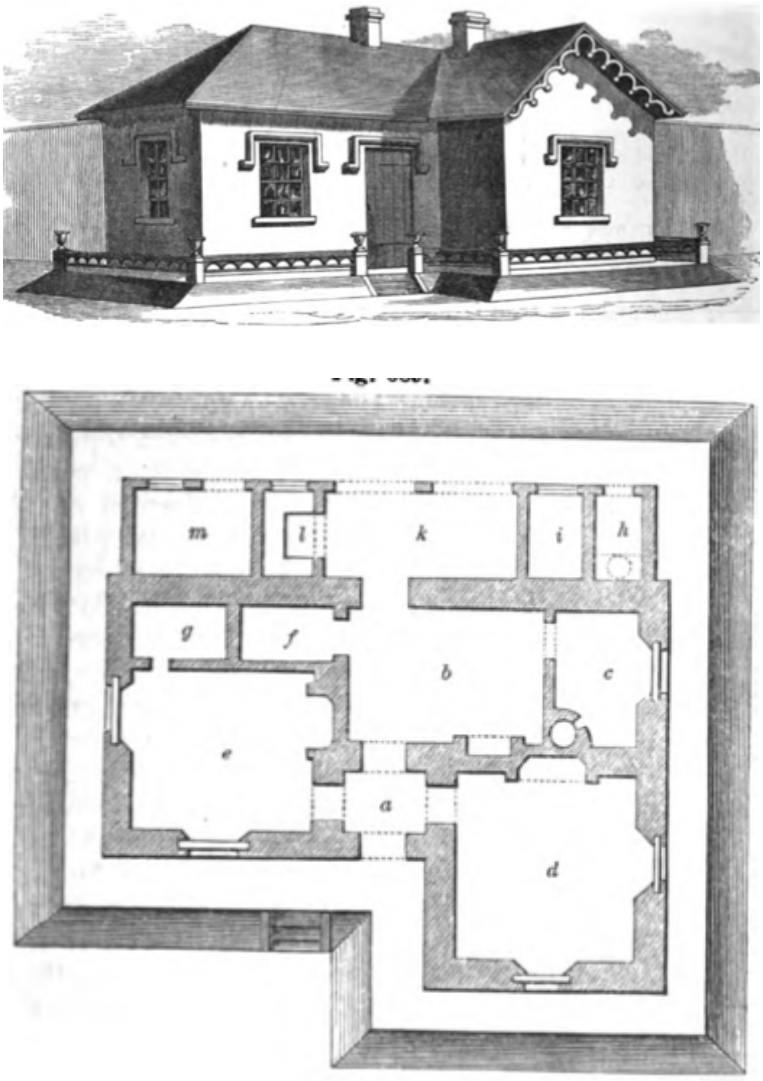


FIG. 3. GARDENER'S COTTAGE WITH CONSIDERABLE ACCOMMODATION ON ONE FLOOR, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 480.

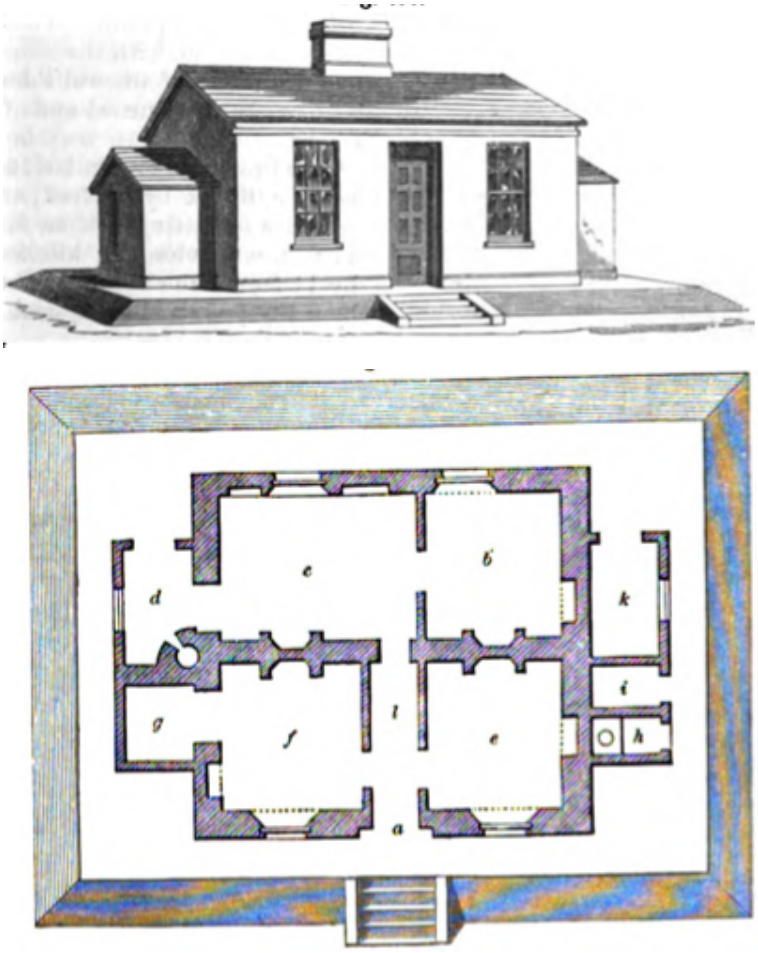


FIG. 4. PLAN FOR GARDENER'S COTTAGE ON A PLATFORM ELEVATED THREE FEET ABOVE GROUND LEVEL, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN*, P. 481-82.

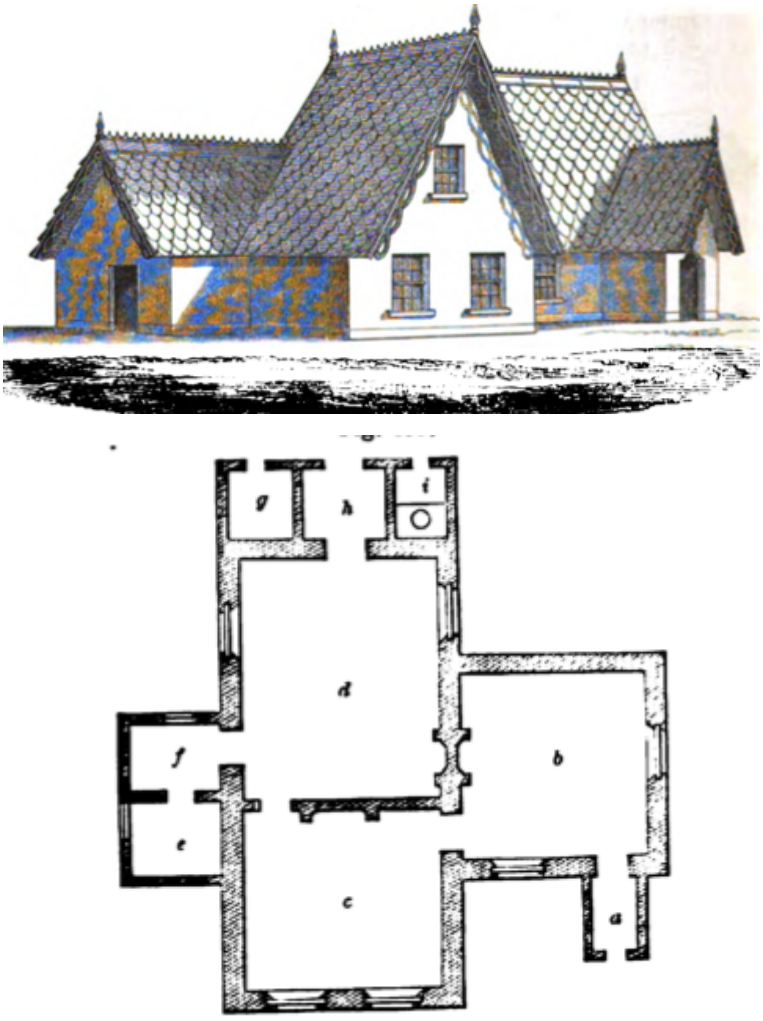


FIG. 5. GARDENER'S HOUSE IN THE COTTAGE STYLE, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 482.

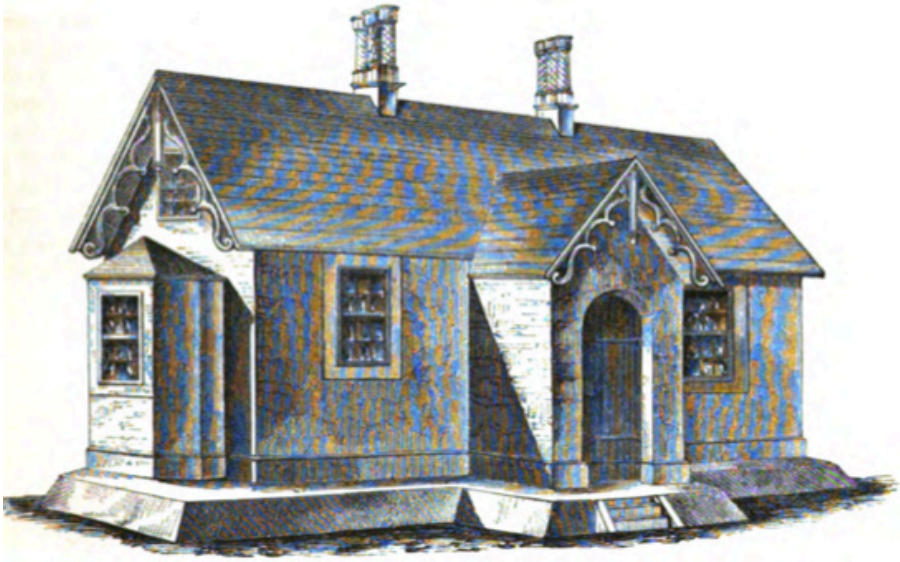


Fig. 701.



Fig. 702.

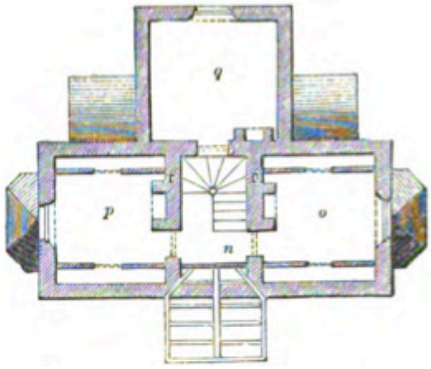


FIG. 6. DESIGN FOR GARDENER'S HOUSE IN THE OLD ENGLISH STYLE, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 483.

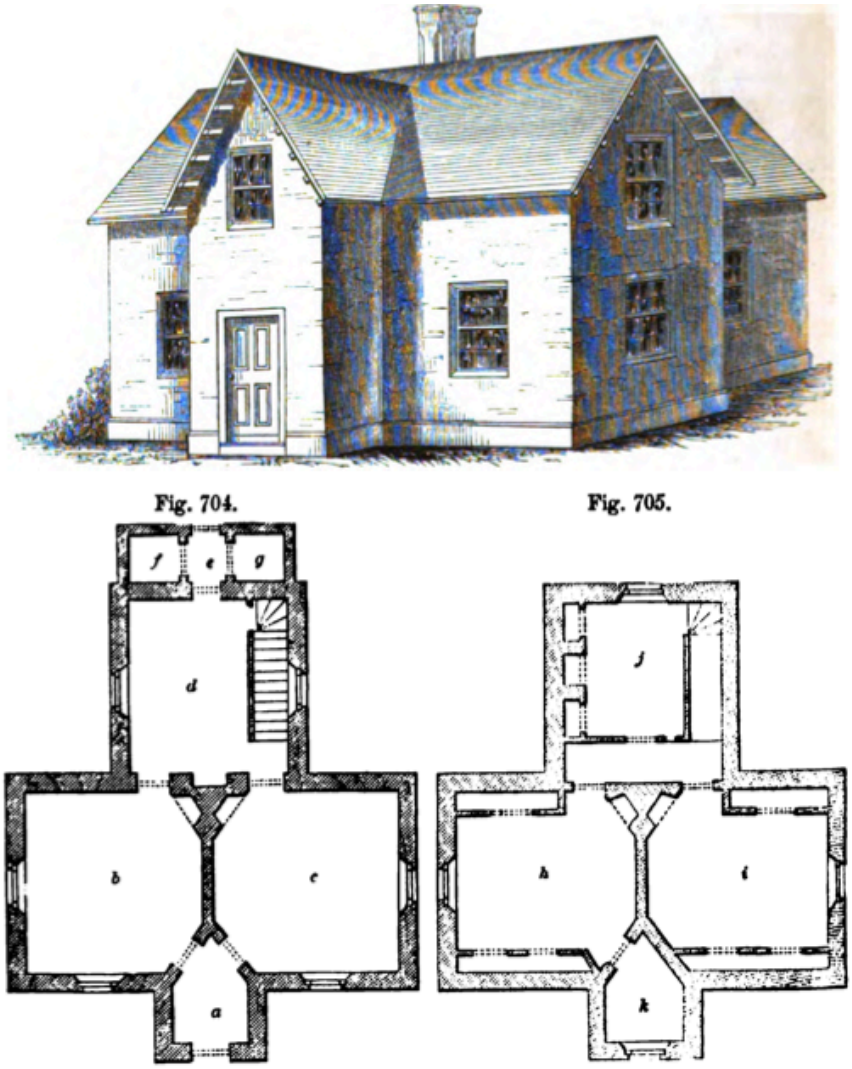


FIG. 7. DESIGN FOR GARDENER'S COTTAGE IN WHICH THE STYLE IS SIMPLE, YET ORNAMENTAL, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 484.

Fig. 706.



Fig. 707.

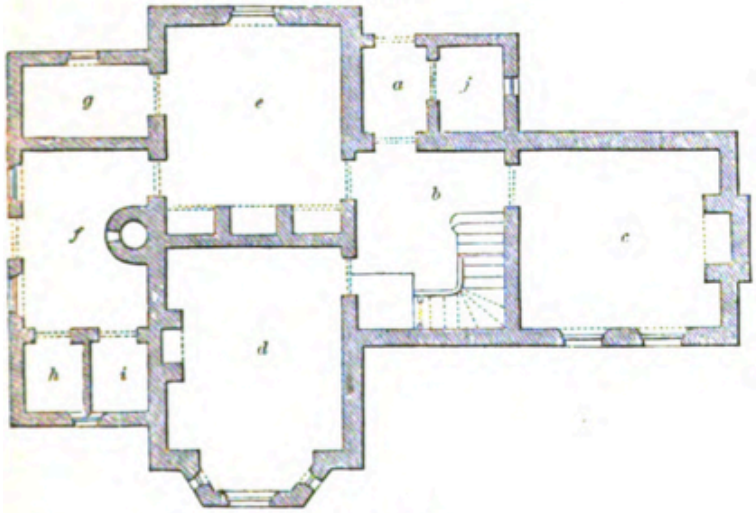


Fig. 708.

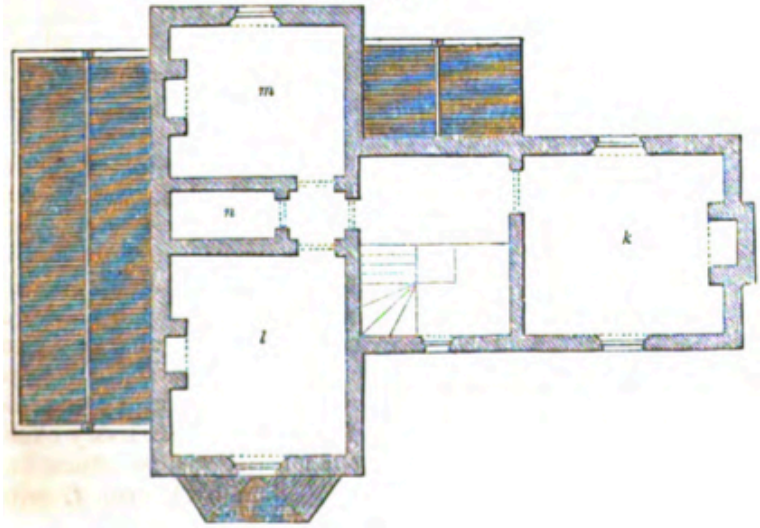


FIG. 8. GARDENER'S HOUSE IN THE OLD ENGLISH STYLE, *BOOK OF THE GARDEN,* P. 485.

VII. Account of Expense of Wrest Gardens

Account of expense of Wrest gardens for quarter ending at Lady Day 1857

£375-9-10, paid to Seward Snow

This included receipts for sale of shrubs of £20-7-0, of vegetables £4-10-0 and wood £4-15-0

24/6/1857 ditto, total of £315-11-1

Including receipts of £50-10-0 and £32-16-0 for sale of fruit, flowers

20/9/1857 ditto, total of £291-06-0

Including receipts of sundry garden produce of £55-0-0

25/12/1857 ditto, total of £301-19-1

Including receipts from sales of garden produce of £60-2-0

L31/437/1-4

25/3/1862 ditto, total of £347-7-2

Including receipts of £86-7-0

24/6/1862 ditto, total of £322-14-10

Including receipts of £29-1-2

29/9/1862, ditto, total of £298-14-2

Including receipts of £52-10-0

25/12/1862 ditto, total of £276-2-10

Including receipts of £33-11-9

VIII. Select Probate Valuations of Head Gardeners

Gardener	YoD	Garden	£	RPI	EI
William Allen	1871	Rendlesham	£300	£30,000	£152,700
James Barnes	1877	Bicton	£1,500	£148,500	£621,000
Donald Beaton	1863	Shrubland Park	£1,000	£106,000	£603,000
John Borrie	1872	Euston Hall	£300	£28,000	£149,700
John Bradbrook	1912	Ketteringham	£180	£17,460	£60,120
James Brown	1878	Stowe House	£605	£61,105	£248,050
George Cameron	1871	Goodwood	£800	£80,000	£407,200
Edmund Cole	1892	Althorp Park	£474	£51,192	£191,022
Alexander Cramb	1877	Tortworth Court	£1,000	£99,000	£414,000
Charles Edmonds	1881	Chiswick	£6,000	£618,000	£2,622,000
David Fish	1901	Hardwicke Hall	£1,364	£141,856	£477,400
Robert Fish	1873	Putteridge Bury	£4,000	£384,000	£1,900,000
George Fleming	1876	Trentham	£4,000	£392,000	£1,756,000
John Fleming	1883	Cliveden	£1,782	£183,546	£778,734
George Ford	1905	Wrest Park	£1,845	£190,035	£638,370
James Fowler	1872	Harewood House	£2,000	£192,000	£998,000
Philip Frost	1887	Dropmore	£1,000	£110,000	£433,000
Thomas Ingram	1872	Frogmore	£1,000	£96,000	£499,000
William Ingram	1894	Belvoir	£356	£39,160	£139,196
John Jobson	1896	East Tisted	£176	£19,888	£67,232
George Johnston	1887	Glamis Castle	£394	£43,734	£170,602
Daniel Judd	1885	Hawkstone Park	£1,344	£146,496	£583,296
George MacKinlay	1913	Flitwick	£2,279	£223,342	£758,907
George Maddern	1894	Trewidden	£267	£29,370	£104,397
Charles McIntosh	1880	Claremont	£1071	£109,103	£461,601
George Mills	1871		£2,000	£200,000	£1,018,000
George Moses	1870	Orchard Leigh	£1,000	£101,000	£518,000

Anthony Parsons	1880	Danesbury	£1,000	£102,000	£431,000
Joseph Paxton	1865	Chatsworth	£180,000	£19,080,000	£108,000,000
George Sage	1889	Chatsworth	£451	£49,159	£193,930
Seward Snow	1869	Wrest Park	£8,000	£808,000	£4,176,000
George Ford	1905	Wrest Park	£1,845	£190,035	£638,370
Thomas Speed	1883	Chatsworth	£1,961	£201,983	£856,957
James Trigger	1910	Milton Park	£582	£58,200	£197,880
George Young	1872		£450	£43,200	£224,550

Average w/o Paxton	£1,553
Average w/ Paxton	£6,802

ENDNOTES

[1] 'Labourers Houses', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 23 (1863), 1046. "This practically illustrates the truth of Adam Smith's maxim: "As the houses, so the people." This was also the motto of The Central Cottage Improvement Society.

[2] William Robinson, 'Cottage Gardens at Helmingham', *The Garden,* 20 (1881), p. 68.

[3] Toby Musgrave, *The Head Gardeners: Forgotten Heroes of Horticulture* (London: Aurum, 2007), p. 102. Also cited in James Driver, 'Charles Green (1826-86): Head Gardener to Sir George Macleay at Pendell Court, Surrey', *Garden History*, 40:2 (2012), p. 203.

[4] Percy Thrower, *My Lifetime in Gardening* (London: Hamlyn Publishing, 1977), p. 12.

[5] John Claudius Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Green, 1830) pp. 1047–1049.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Dr Brent Elliott, 'The Royal Horticultural Society's Lindley Library: Safeguarding Britain's Horticultural Heritage', *Gresham College Lecture Series* (22 May 2013), p. 3.

[9] Loudon, 'Retrospective Criticism', *Gardener's Magazine,* 6 (1830), p. 609.

[10] 'Sir Joseph Paxton', *Journal of Horticulture,* 8 (1865), p. 449.

[11] MP. 'Notices to Correspondents; Wages', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 11 (1851), p. 136. "A master is not justified in withholding the wages of his gardener, earning 21s a week, in the event of such gardener being temporarily disabled by illness from working; a labourer earning 7s a week stands in a different position, not being a domestic servant"

[12] Nowlan v. Ablett (1835), 2 Cr M. & R. 54, 4 LJ Ex 155 pre-SCJA 1873 circa 1835 CaseSearch, Court of Exchequer, p. 24.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.

[15] 'Master and Servant', *Law Magazine and Review: Quarterly Review of Jurisprudence,* 14 (1835), pp. 181-82.

[16] Nowlan v. Ablett, p. 25.

[17] 'Law Notes', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 10 (1878), p. 702.

[18] Hibberd, 'Can Gardeners Claim a Month's Notice?', *Gardener's Magazine*, 13 (1870), p. 421; Hibberd, 'Can A Gardener Claim a Month's Notice?', *Gardener's Magazine*, 15 (1872), p. 745; 'Lady Wiltshire and her Head Gardener', *Reynold's Newspaper* (22 December 1872), p. 8.

[19] Sally Hills, Ryland Thomas and Nicholas Dimsdale, 'The UK Recession in Context: What do Three Centuries of Data Tell Us: Data Annex', *Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin* (2010). With additional estimates by Steve Broadberry, http://www.lse.ac.uk/economicHistory/pdf/Broadberry/Finaldata12701870.xls [accessed 30 August 2013]

[20] Gregory Clark, "What Were the British Earnings and Prices Then? (New Series)" MeasuringWorth, 2013, http://www.measuringworth.com/ukearncpi/ [accessed 20 August 2013]

[21] See wages chart at Appendix I.

[22] Professor Sir Roderick Floud, 'Making and Running Great Gardens 1700-1900', *Gresham College Lecture* (Gresham: June 2013), slide 41.

[23] Pamela Horn, *Life and Labour in Rural England, 1760-1850* (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 1987), p. 151.

[24] Ibid., p. 5.

[25] Johnson, George W., *The History of English Gardening* (London: Baldwin & Cradock, 1829), p. 364.

[26] D. Beaton, 'Shrubland Park', *The Cottage Gardener and Country Gentleman's Companion,* 16 (1856), p. 452.

[27] Alfred Wilcox, Famous Gardeners at Home: Mr. F. W. Seabrook, at the Gardens, Ramsay Abbey', *Garden Life,* 9 (1906), p. 243.

[28] Charles Quest-Ritson, *The English Garden: A Social History* (London: Viking, 2001), p. 221.

[29] Kate Colquhoun, *A Thing in Disguise: The Visionary Life of Joseph Paxton* (London and New York: Fourth Estate, 2003), p. 100. According to the chart at Appendix I, the cost of the glasshouses completed in 1840 according to the Retail Price Index would be £490,544. According to the Earnings Index, the cost would be £4,266,592.

[30] Chadwick, G.F., *The Works of Sir Joseph Paxton, 1803-1865* (London: Architectural Press, 1961), p. 93.

[31] Colquhoun, p. 100. On the Earnings Index, the cost would have risen from £3,560,000 to £6,910,000 using the years 1837 & 1847 respectively.

[32] Brian Earnshaw & Timothy Mowl, *Trumpet at a Distant Gate* (London: Waterhouse, 1985), p. vi.

[33] Hibberd, 'The Garden Oracle and Floricultural Year Book', Hibberd's *Gardener's Magazine,* 24 (1881), p. 743.

[34] Quest-Ritson, p. 170.

[35] Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and its Plan, 1835-1914* (London: Routledge, 1891), p. 1.

[36] Ibid., p. 24.

[37] Loudon, 'Notes on Gardens and Country Seats', *Gardener's Magazine,* 9 (1833), p. 515.

[38] Susan Campbell Archive.

[39] Carolyn McDowall, 'The Conservatory, Crystal Palaces and the Climate Revolution', http://www.thecultureconcept.com/circle/the-conservatory-crystal-palaces-and-the-climate-revolution [accessed 01 September 2013]

[40] Loudon, 'Grottoes at Painshill and Ascot Park', *Gardener's Magazine,* 10 (1834), pp. 81-82 (p. 82).

[41] David Taylor, *An Estate for All Seasons: A History of Cobham Park, Surrey and its owners and occupiers* (Chichester, West Sussex: Phillimore, 2006), p. 57. Hill House in neighbouring in Little Bookham was purchased in 1824 and Park Farm House was purchased in 1828 and became the home farm for the estate. In 1845, Chase House Farm was added. Also in 1845 the former rectory was purchased and replaced with a cottage in the "Gothick" style. The Wagon and Horses public house was purchased in 1835 and demolished to make room for new stables a stud farm. Between 1847 and 1856 further lands in Little Bookham and Great Effingham were added.

[42] Ibid., p. 60. In 1866, Charles Combe purchased Downside Mill for £3,150. In 1872, he purchased the land opposite Cobham Mill belonging to Ham Manor.

[43] Ibid., p. 69.

[44] Ibid. Painshill had been modernised by Norman Shaw in 1906.

[45] 'Cobham Park', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 3rd series; 37 (1905), pp. 74-75. In the same year Charles Combe bought two further estates in Cobham Village, Cobham's old manor house, Cobham Court, and Hamwell Meadows. See Taylor, p. 69.

[46] 'Meeting for the Ensuing Week', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 33 (1873), p. 1529.

[47] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* 8 (1832), p. 2.

[48] Equity, 'Gardeners and their Employers', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 19 (1859), p. 830.

[49] Robinson, 'The Farmer and Gardener Combined, *Journal of Horticulture,* n.s. 2 (1861), p. 237.

[50] Cottages were also made available for indoor servants if they were married, and other outdoor staff, such as the groom.

[51] Guy Walters, 'When converting a fee paid to Jane Austen into today's terms, it is necessary to make a comparison with average earnings', *The Times* (31 January 2013) [accessed from *The Times* online archive; 10 September 2013]

[52] A third method is by comparison with increases in average GDP per head, which give even larger multiples, because of the increase in wealth which has resulted from advances in technology in the last one hundred years. Because the figures produced by this method are huge and appear unrealistic, they are not used in this paper.
[53] SGO, 'Labourers' Cottages', *The Times* (12 September, 1863), p. 10 [accessed 17 July 2013]

[54] Selim, 'Plan of a Double Cottage, uniting the Picturesque with internal Comfort. With Introductory Remarks on the present State of Labourers' Cottages in Wiltshire', *The Gardener's Magazine,* 7 (1831), pp. 292-95 (p. 292).

[55] John Britton, *The History and description, with graphic illustrations, of Cassiobury Park, Hertfordshire: the Seat of the Earl of Essex* (London: Self-published, 1837), p. 30.

[56] Loudon, 'As Useful Reading for Gardeners', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 2 (1836), pp. 104-05 (p. 105).

[57] Charles McIntosh, *The Book of The Garden,* volume 1 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1853), p. 475.

[58] George Eliot, *Works of George Eliot,* 6 (New York: Century Co.: 1910), p. 41, http://archive.org/details/middlemarch00eliogoog [accessed 22 July 2013]

[59] Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (London: J.M. Dent & Co.:1906), p. 54.

[60] Henceforth referred to as the *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*.

[61] John Archer, *The Literature of British Domestic Architecture 1715-1842* (Cambridge, MA and London: MIT Press, 1985), p. 514.

[62] 'The Architectural Magazine', *The Times*, 02 February 1839, p. 3.

[63] John Gloag, *Victorian Taste: Some Social Aspects of Architecture and Industrial Design 1820 - 1900* (London: David and Charles, 1972), p. 47.

[64] Archer, p. 55.

[65] Loudon, 'Garden Calls: Selwood Park, Bagshot Park, Knapp Hill Nursery', *Gardener's Magazine,* 5 (1829), pp. 570-72 (p. 571).

[66] William Lawrence became surgeon to the Queen in 1858 and was made a baronet in 1867.

[67] See Loudon, 'Descriptive Notice of the Villa of Mrs. Lawrence, at Drayton Green', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 4 (1838), pp. 305-22.

[68] 'London Horticultural Society', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 1 (1837), p. 382 & Horwood, Catherine, *Gardening Women: Their Stories from 1600 to the Present* (London: Virago, 2010), p. 45.

[69] *Journal of Horticulture,* 14 (1855), p. 110

[70] 'Archibald Gorrie', *The Cottage Gardener,* 18 (1857), p. 333.

[71] Loudon's bankruptcy was posted in the *London Gazette*, (18 July 1818), p. 1300.

[72] During this part of his career Loudon occasionally accepted commissions to supplement his income.

[73] Loudon, 'Introduction', *Gardener's Magazine,* 1 (1826), pp. 1-9 (p. 9).

[74] Loudon, 'Catalogue of Books for a Garden Library', *Gardener's Magazine,* 2 (1827), pp. 108-120 (pp. 116-17).

[75] X.Y.Z. 'Retrospective Criticism: Gardeners' Wages', *Gardener's Magazine,* 4 (1828), pp. 439-444 (p. 440).

[76] Ibid., p. 441.

[77] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans: 1846), p. 8.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Loudon, 'A Model cottage for a Country Labourer', *Gardener's Magazine,* 6 (1830), p. 154.

[80] Ibid, p. 154

[81] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* pp. 13-14.

[82] T.F. Hunt, *Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture in a Series of Designs for Gate Lodges. Gamekeepers' Cottages, and other Rural Residences,* 3rd Edition (London: Henry G. Bohn: 1841).

[83] Loudon, 'Hunt, T. F., Architect, Author of "Half a Dozen Hints on Picturesque Domestic Architecture" Review, *Gardener's Magazine,* 4 (1828), pp. 43-47 (p. 46).

[84] Joseph Gandy, *Designs for Cottages, Cottage Farms, and other Rural Buildings; including Entrance Gates and Lodges* (London: John Harding: 1805).

[85] E. Gyfford, *Designs for Small Picturesque Cottages and Hunting Boxes, adapted for Ornamental Retreats for Hunting and Shooting; also some designs for Park Entrances, Bridges, &c.* (London: J. Taylor: 1807).

[86] Richard Elsam, *Hints for Improving the Condition of the Peasantry in All Parts of the United Kingdom, by Promoting Comfort in Their Habitations* (London: R. Ackermann: 1816).

[87] Gandy, p. 14 & p. 87.

[88] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* p. 14.

[89] Ibid., p. 26.

[90] Ibid., pp. 9-10.

[91] Hunt, pp. 1-2.

[92] Gandy, p. 14 & p. 87.

[93] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* p. 12.

[94] Ibid., p. 16.

[95] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* 4 (1828), p. 46.

[96] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* 5 (1829), p. 562.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* 5 (1829), p. 571.

[99] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* p. 259.

[100] Andrew Combe, *Principles of Physiology applied to the Preservation of Health, and to the Improvement of Physical and Mental Education* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart: 1852) Fourteenth Edition.

[101] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 2 (1836), pp. 104-105 (p. 105).

[102] Ibid., 2 (1827), p. 219.

[103] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* p. 13.

[104] Ibid., p. 17.

[105] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 1 (1835), p. 684. Note: There is a certain irony in this statement, having in mind the extravagantly elaborate stables which the young Loudon had designed and built for James Mytton at The Garth.

[106] Abraham had been the co-designer in 1808 of Kenton Lane farmhouse with Loudon's father, William, when father and son had been involved in a farming venture together.

[107] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 1 (1835), p. 35.

[108] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine*, 8 (1832), p. 551

[109] Wilcox, 'Famous Gardeners at Home', *Garden Life,* 9 (1905), p. 399.

[110] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine*, 6 (1830), p. 34.

[111] Chadwick, p. 69.

[112] Ibid., p. 553.

[113] Ibid., 10 (1834), p. 25.

[114] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 1 (1835), p. 173.

[115] T.J. Ricauti, *Rustic Architecture: The Picturesque and Pleasing Appearance of Rough Wood, Thatch, Etc. when Applied as the Only Decorations of Rural Buildings, Illustrated by XLII Zincographic Drawings; Consisting of Plans, Elevations, Sections and Perspective Views; the Doors, Windows, Chimney Shafts, Etc. Drawn Geometrically to a Large Scale, with a Description and the Estimated Cost of Each Design* (London: Self-published: 1840).

[116] Loudon, 'Catalogue of Works on Gardening, &c; Ricauti's Rustic Architecture', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 6 (1840), p. 561

[117] Ibid.

[118] Loudon, 'General Notices; Want of Moral Courage in Architects and Landscape-Gardeners', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 8 (1842), p. 135.

[119] John Lindley, 'Reviews', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 2 (1842), pp. 407-08 (p. 407).

[120] Ibid. pp. 407-08.

[121] Loudon, 'Design for a Gardener's House, containing Five Rooms and an Office; adapted for being connected with the Wall of a Kitchen-garden', *Gardener's Magazine*, 8 (1832), p. 552.

[122] Loudon, *Gardener's Magazine,* 10 (1834), p. 25.

[123] William Adam, *Gem of the Peak: or Matlock Bath and Its Vicinity,* 1838 Edition (London: Longman & Co., 1838), p. 77.

[124] John Barnatt & Tom Williamson, *Chatsworth: A Landscape History* (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2005), p. 165.

[125] Oliver Goldsmith, 'The Deserted Village', in *Poetry Foundation* http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poem/173557 [accessed 15 June 2013]

[126] Barnatt & Williamson, p. 168.

[127] *Gardeners' Chronicle,* (1842), p. 187.

[128] Barnatt & Williamson, p. 168. The barns, now mostly redundant, in ruins, or removed altogether, were found in an archaeological survey by Barnatt and Williamson and were described by them as "remarkable".

[129] Census of Edensor. Compiled from Ancestry.co.uk, Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2007. The village of Edensor is treated as one property in the census, so that it is not normally possible to identify which house was occupied by whom

[130] Ibid.

[131] Several cottage designs in the *Encyclopaedia* which were specifically designed for occupation by gardeners, such as those at Redleaf, were designated simply as "cottages".

[132] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture,* pp. 214-222.

[133] Ibid., p. 217.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Ibid., p. 222

[136] English Heritage, 'List Entry: Brocklesby Park', http://list.english-heritage.org.uk/resultsingle.aspx?uid=1000971 [accessed: 15 August 2013]

[137] John Constable, 'The Entrance to the Village of Edensor 2', Victoria And Albert Museum, London, http://www.john-constable.org/The-Entrance-to-the-Village-of-Edensor-2.html [accessed 17 July 2013]

[138] Taken by Author.

[139] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Architecture*, p. 215.

[140] Rotherfield park photo

[141] Taken by author.

[142] Robert Aughtie, Basil Harley, Jessie Harley, *A Gardener at Chatsworth: Three Years in the Life of Robert Aughtie, 1848-1850* (Worcestershire: Self-published, 1992), p. 21.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid., p. 100.

[145] Ibid.

[146] Ibid., p. 21.

[147] Ibid., p. 164.

[148] Census for Edensor.

[149] It is likely that his employer, the Duke of Devonshire thought that he was two or three years older; Paxton added 2 years to his age when applying for employment at Chiswick and routinely added two or three years to his age in every census return until 1861, which was the first return in which he gave his true age.

[150] Adam, (1840 Edition), p. 139.

[151] Ibid., (1843 Edition), p. 162.

[152] J.R., "To Connect a Greenhouse with a Library (in Effect), at the same Time that one End is built against that End of the Room that contains the Fireplace', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 8 (1842), p. 394.

[153] Ibid., p. 395.

[154] 'Report on Her Majesty's Garden Reception at Chatsworth', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 3 (1843), p. 859.

[155] Ibid. After the visit to Chatsworth Queen Victoria wrote "Paxton is a very clever man- quite a genius". From Quest-Ritson, p. 175.

[156] Chadwick, p. 168.

[157] Thomas Speed, driven mad by the pain of gout, shot himself in the library at Barbrook in 1883.

[158] Robert Fish, 'Trentham', *Journal of Horticulture,* n.s. 5 (1863), p. 354.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Loudon, 'Notes on Gardens and County Seats, visited, from July 27 to September 16., during a Tour through Part of Middlesex, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent', *Gardener's Magazine,* 10 (1834), pp. 413-19 (p. 418).

[162] Ibid., p. 413.

[163] Ibid., pp. 414-15.

[164] Ibid., *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 2 (1836), pp. 501-13 (p. 507).

[165] RPI equivalence; £7,344,000; EI: £49,000,000

[166] For reasons of convenience we have chosen 1865 as the equivalency date which gives us the following figures: RPI; £29,680,000: EI; £168,000,000.

[167] Franklin, p. 26.

[168] Ibid.

[169] 'On the Provision of Sufficient Cottage Accommodation', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 27 (1867), pp. 389-90 (p. 389).

[170] 'On the Provision of Sufficient Cottage Accommodation', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* p. 390.

[171] Samuel Clarke, 'The Dwelling Places of the Agricultural Labourer', *The Times,* (9 September 1863), p. 8.

[172] Barnatt & Williamson, 207. Barbrook was demolished in 1963, but the lodge, now known as White Lodge, with its singular copper roof, survives (see Fig 20).

[173] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening,* p. 484.

[174] Fish, 'Trentham', *Journal of Horticulture,* n.s. 5 (1863), p. 354.

[175] 'The Central Cottage Improvement Society', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 30 (1870), pp. 21-22 (p. 21).

[176] 'Cottage Plans', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 27 (1867), p. 1327.

[177] Hibberd, Hibberd's *Gardener's Magazine,* 13 (1870), p. 358.

[178] Ibid., 'Garden Memoranda', p. 1446.

[179] Ibid., pp. 1735-36.

[180] Ibid., 'Obituary', p. 316.

[181] 'Labourers' Cottages', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 33 (1873 pt. 1), p. 819.

[182] D.T. Fish, 'Notable Gardens', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 34 (1873), p. 327.

[183] Loudon, 'Castle Kennedy', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 9 (1842), p. 253. There is a mistake in the DNB entry on Loudon where it is stated that Loudon remodelled the gardens at Castle Kennedy. Archibald Fowler's memoirs make it clear that Loudon's designs were not put into effect. See 'British Gardeners; Archibald Fowler', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* n.s. 2 (1874), p. 582-84.

[184] Loudon, 'Recollections of a Gardening Tour in the North of England and Part of Scotland, made from June 22, to September 30, 1841', *Gardener's Magazine,* n.s. 8 (1842), pp. 577-96 (p. 582).

[185] D.T. Fish, 'Notable Gardens', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 34 (1873), p. 327.

[186] John Downie, 'Garden Memoranda; The Glen, Peebles-Shire', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 34 (1873), p. 987.

[187] Quest-Ritson, p. 182.

[188] 'The Central Cottage Improvement Society', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 30 (1870), pp. 21-22 (p. 21).

[189] 'Labourers' Cottages', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* 33 (1873 pt. 1), p. 819.

[190] Robinson, 'Obituary of Robert Fish', *The Garden,* 4 (1873), p. 370.

[191] D. T. Fish, 'British Gardeners: XVIII', *Gardeners' Chronicle,* n.s. 3 (1875), pp. 655-56.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

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[444] This is by no means an isolated instance of the kindness shown by the queen to her outdoor servants. One, from Balmoral commented, after having given evidence as a witness in court "The Queen has been to my hut, and she speaks pleasantly and draws pretty pictures for the bairns. I would far rather speak to the Queen than to yon chap wi' the big wig" (see Sarah A. Tooley, *The Personal Life of Queen Victoria* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901), p. 171.

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[449] As examples, in 1856, Snow won 3 prizes worth £5 15s at the summer show at Crystal Palace and in the autumn show there he won 4 prizes worth £7 5s. *Journal of Horticulture*, 16 (1856), pp. 252 & 429.

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[451] This sample is not intended to be representative of head gardeners as a whole.

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[464] Ibid., 293.

[465] The figure of £1,000 a year was quoted without correction in Horwood, giving as her source the archive of the Women's Farm and Garden Association, and it is correct that the Daily Mail quoted the figure of £1,000 in their headline, but it is clear from the text of the Daily Mail article that the correct figure was £100 pa., '£1,000 Gardeners: Where Women Excel', *Daily Mail* (05 November 1912).

[466] Provided by Professor Sir Roderick Floud.

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